16 PAGES
IS 40

AL-FAJR
JERUSALEM
PALESTINIAN WEEKLY

POSTMASTER
Send address changes to
Al-Fajr
2025 I Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.
20006

(USPS 606-630

VOL. V, NO. 199
FEBRUARY 22, 1984

TO OUR READERS:

In compliance with the Israeli military authorities, and under the guise of the much criticized "Emergency Regulations" of 1945, Al-Fajr is required to submit all material prepared for publication in this weekly, and also in the Arabic Daily and Bi-Weekly Hebrew with letters has all been censored and expunged by the Israeli authorities. We found it necessary and relevant to publish it on these pages in the foreign edition.

Lebanon Balance of Forces Favours Resistance

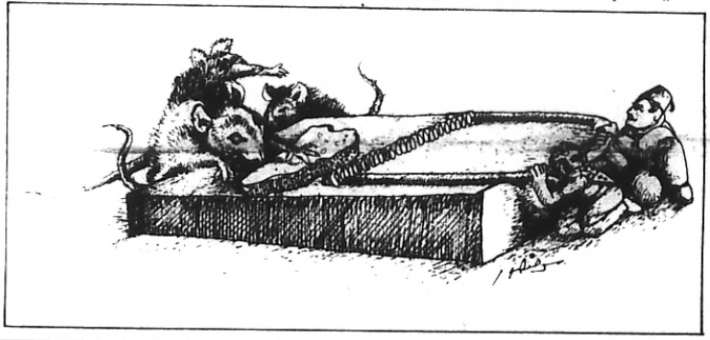
The gains of the Lebanese National Salvation Front and Amal movement, and Israeli retaliation dominated events in Lebanon, this week, Livia Rokach reports:

February 20 — Comments in Beirut are unanimous: yesterday's Israeli air strikes, which caused a high number of civilian casualties in Damour, Aramoun, Doha, Naameh, Bhamdun, Hammannah and Rueissat Sofa in the resistance-controlled liberated areas, are a tangible sign that the Reagan administration has charged Israel to replace it in an attempt to save the Phalangist power in Lebanon and thereby 'redeem" the effects of America's second Vietnam in one decade.

Although Phalangist radio news of a renewed Israeli invasion of the Lebanese coast and naval shellings of west Beirut have been completely denied by both the resistance forces in control of the areas and western newspeople who rushed to visit them, nobody excludes such an eventuality. To what end, however, is a question which remains unanswered. Amin Gemayel, it is true, does not yet seem to have boarded a US helicopter which would take him to safety but the former 'mayor of west Beirut,' as he was called in the most promising days of his presidency, is isolated in his hiding place somewhere in the eastern sector, from where he can no more reach the Ba'abda Palace, all but reduced to debris by now. Liberated west Beirut is firmly in control of the unified PSP-Amal command, constituted last week. For the first time in almost a year, Lebanese National Salvation Front President Walid Jumblatt returned this afternoon to the Lebanese capital, where, once denied, the Phalangist radio communications are thought to be directed to keep up the morale of their own troops, of east Beirut's population now massively fleeing from its traditional stronghold of Ashrafieh, Hazmieh and Yarze, and perhaps above all of the last Phalangist troops of the army's special 8th brigade besieged in Souq al-Gharb, whose fall is given as imminent.

Fighting along the 'green line' is intensifying from hour to hour between the patriotic forces controlling west Beirut and the eastern sector, where about 3-4000 Phalangist-affiliated regular troops and the larger part of the "Lebanese forces" militias are entrenched. Military experts believe that the final 'battle of national destiny' — to use Phalangist rhetoric — will be on as soon as the embarkation of the last Marine on the US Sixth Fleet vessels, which would cause the present balance of forces to bend even more favourably on the side of the Lebanese resistance.

The task covertly confided by Washington to Israel, its major regional policeman, would be, according to the already quoted sources, to prevent this leap in the balance of forces. However, to do so, the experts believe, Israel would have to ship large forces into east Beirut, and, moreover, renew its patronage to mass massacres of Lebanese civilians — not an impossible but certainly a risky scenario on all levels for the aggressor.



Less than three months ago, Ronald Reagan admonished that the US "will never suffer in Lebanon a defeat such as was inflicted to the French in Dien Bien Phu — because the French had nothing like our (battleship) *New Jersey.*" On February 8, the nine 406 mm. guns stormed the Lebanese mountains for over 20 consecutive hours with the 1.3 ton shells, wiping from the face of the earth the Druze villages of Bifeibat and Bzebdin and the Christian Maronite village of Shebanyeh as well, causing hundreds of civilian casualties, making roads into craters and transforming fertile lands and pinewoods into scorched earth. Less than a week later, however, on February 15, exactly like the Vietminh in Dien Bien Bhu, thousands of Druze peasants and herdsmen had already built a new military road and were sweeping through hills and valleys. They took over dozens of villages, strategic key positions and crossroads from Khalde to Damur to the gates of Sidon to the entire regions of Shahhar

continued on page 2

Jordan Cracks Down on Palestinians

Behind the seemingly cordial relationship between Jordan and the PLO, the Jordanian authorities have stepped up repression of Palestinian activities in Jordan over the past several months.

Over 100 Palestinians have been rounded up and put into Jordanian jails and political activities have been restricted, according to reports from people returning from Amman.

A PLO source in Amman reported that Jordan has refused exit visas to a number of Palestinians and has ordered dozens to report to local police stations once or twice a day. Among those restricted are a number of Palestinians who were released from Israeli prisons last November in the exchange agreement with the PLO.

Palestinians living in Jordan have complained about new Jordanian guidlines regarding West Bank residents. Jordan has given West Bank youths presently residing in Jordan a choice of either being drafted into the Jordanian army or returning to the West Bank. Hundreds of youths have returned but are unable to find employment locally. In Jordan 20 draft-age Palestinian have been fined this week JD20-25 in military court for not responding to the draft call and remaining in Jordan. They were given one month to normalise their status.

Campaigning for elections to fill eight vacant seats in the Jordanian parliament started February 15. Thirty candidates are vying for one vacant Amman seat. Among them, Faris Suleiman Nabulsi has announced a platform demanding freedom of expression, press, political organisation and assembly. He is also calling for an end to martial law, a rejection of the Reagan plan, unification of efforts in support of the PLO as the sole legitimate representive of the Palestinian people and serious rapprochement with Arab countries, third world nations and the Soviet Union.

Student Clashes Close Najah for 3 Days

Seven Najah University students were slightly injured as a result of campus clashes between student political factions February 19. As an immediate response Najah's board of trustees ordered a three-day closure from February 20 to 22. In an explanatory statement they said it was because of "the regrettable incidents which occurred at the campus of the university."

At 11:00 am February 19 hundreds of students attended a festival to mark the second anniversary of the founding of the Palestinian Communist Party. Members of the student Islamic bloc called supporters to gather near the mosque and a few minutes later they began stoning the crowd, according to student sources.

Tables, books and cassettes were destroyed during the fight that ensued. Teachers, university employees and bystanding students eventually stopped the clashes.

When the fighting stopped, Islamic bloc students were stationed on the university roofs and in the courtyards while the other group were in the university cafeteria. Board of trustee members rushed to the university and held an emergency meeting with the two student blocs and their supporters as soon as news of the clashes reached them. They asked all students to leave campus immediately.

Israel Radio and Television reported that the clashes were between "PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat loyalists" and opponents. When Najah University officials investigated the false news report, reporters cited the 'civil administration' as their source.

Sa'eb Ariqat, Najah public relations chairperson, denied the Israeli reports and said what happened on campus was totally rejected by the university administration. "Freedom of expression must be maintained in the university on a clear basis of understanding between different bodies and groups," he said.

Abd al-Ghani Anabtawi, deputy chairpeersonof the university Board of Trustees, told *Al Fajr* that the board decided to suspend studies in order to stop the trouble.

An investigative committee will be formed by the university administration within a few days, sources on campus predict. The committee's report will be given to the board of trustees and "proper measures will be taken in accordance with the university's interests." Hisham Zu'bi, a university public relations official, said.

IN THIS ISSUE

A sad goodbye to the Italian MNF p.2
UNRWA closes three schools p.3
PLO Chairman new rector of Glasgow University? p.4
Israeli reactions to Karp committee report p.7
A history of Palestinian newspapers since 1967 ..... pp.8&9
Bethlehem's classicist sculptor p.11
Last week in Bir Zeit University p.13
The Arab-hunters p.16

Emotional Departure for Italians As Amal Takes Over in West Beirut

by Livia Rokach
Our Rome Correspondent

February 19 — As of this morning at dawn, Sabra, Shatila and Burj al-Barajneh camps are in the custody of the Shi'ite organisation, Amal. 'Italcon,' the Italian contingent of the multinational forces, is gone. After 540 days on guard in and around the major concentrations of Palestinian civilians in Beirut, the last of general Franco Angioni's men embarked on the Italian troop carriers waiting in Beirut's port to sail them home. The handing over of security arrangements and installations in the camp area to Amal — officially admitted in Rome as a *de facto* recognition of the new and alternative power in west Beirut — was negotiated last week directly by General Angioni and Italy's Ambassador Lucioli Ottieri with the Shi'ite organisation leader, Nabih Berri.

At the same time, the Italian contingent's military camp hospital, which in the past 15 months treated over 7000 patients from the camps and neighbouring quarters of southern Beirut, has been donated, with all its sophisticated equipment, including four operating rooms, by the Italian government to the Supreme Shi'ite Council, headed by Sheikh Mohammed Mehdi Shams al-Din. It was consigned on Saturday to Dr. Mohammed Mansur, head of the council's medical services. The hospital will thus continue to serve the local population free and without discrimination. It will be guarded by a garrison of 100 Italian *carabinieri* — military police — the only part of the force left behind to protect Italian institutions in Beirut, including the Embassy. The hospital will be manned by the Shi'ite council's medical personnel.

Both acts, and especially the donation of the hospital, were declared to be deeply appreciated by the political leadership of west Beirut as well as by the population of the camps for political and strategic as much as for social and practical reasons. The Phalangists, enraged by these very moves, have accused the Italians of having "clearly chosen the side of our enemy." In an open demonstration of hostility, the Pahalngists thereupon violated the ceasefire arranged for the embarkation of the troops in the port area, where an Italian soldier was wounded in a sudden barrage of sniping. He was the twenty-fifth Italian to have been wounded since the flare-up of the second round of the civil war in early February. The evacuation of the Italian contingent through west Beirut, down to the Sodeco passage to the eastern sector, was protected by Amal militiamen who along the road cheered "our Italian friends" and the "friendship between the Italian and Lebanese peoples."

For the 15,000 Palestinians, mostly women, children, elderly persons and war invalids, still living in the camps along with the large numbers of Lebanese Shi'ite refugees forced to flee from their homes in Chiyah and Hai Sellum by the savage phosphorus shell bombings of the Lebanese army earlier this month, the departure of the Italian contingent was a highly emotional experience marked by renewed fears of future events. The fears are neither baseless nor imaginary seeing that as of today the formerly Italian-controlled sectors of Sabra, Shatila and Burj al-Barajneh, protected by a minimum of international immunity, again become, like all other civilian neighbourhoods of south Beirut, free-fire zones for the Phalangist artillery stationed in east Beirut and that the final balance of power between east and west Beirut has yet to be decided militarily.

Talking to reporters flown in to cover the Italians' departure, Palestinian camp inhabitants said they were pleased that Amal militiamen will guard the camps. "There are no problems between us. We are the same people," they said. Both Palestinians and Lebanese Shi'ites living in the camps also said, however, they intend to organise their own self-defence. "There is no question of letting the same thing happen again. I am going to get myself a gun and if they try to come back I will kill as many of them as I can before they can kill me," Abu Ali, a 60-year-old Lebanese Shi'ite living in Shatila said, referring to the mid-September 1982 massacres and to the still inexplicable lack of resistance in the camps at that time.

The children of Shatila and Burj al-Barajneh consider themselves to be the major losers from the departure of the Italians. For the Italians, too, the most emotionally straining moment of the departure was hugging and kissing goodbye the friends they had made among Palestinian and Lebanese kids, all of whom have in the past 17 months learned to master a considerable vocabulary of Italian words and popular expressions. In these past months rides in the white armoured cars and jeeps beside the feather-hatted *bersaglieri*, sweets, improvised games with the soldiers who came from faraway and often from depressed areas in the northeast of Italy, and, above all, a minimum feeling of safety granted in the shadow of the contingent's positions all represented for these children tiny but almost magical compensation for the constant suffering and terror lived through.

But the adults, too, are moved. Aziz is a 50-year-old Palestinian from Acre, living in Burj al-Barajneh. Like almost all camp Palestinians who in the last days, and until the very moment of the departure at dawn today, flocked in an uninterrupted pilgrimage to say goodbye to the Italian command, his eyes fill with tears when he is asked to give a judgement on the contingent's role in these months. His story is one of hundreds of the same kind: "These were hard times for us Palestinians. Especially last year. The Lebanese *surete* constantly came to harass us. Gemayel's people wanted to destroy my home because I had repaired it after the Israeli bombings blew off the roof and left a single wall standing. They said in doing so I had violated their laws because the new roof was made of bricks, that which is not allowed to Palestinians. As I opposed them, I was arrested. The Italians intervened. I was released and my home was left untouched."

Not all camp inhabitants were as lucky as Aziz. In many cases, although to a much lesser extent than in the French-controlled sectors of the camps, Palestinians were abducted by the Gemayel regime gangs and all that remained of them are their names on the lists of the *desaparecidos*. Others' homes were demolished. The political agreement between the Rome and Beirut government left the military in place only that much space to exercise pressures for the safeguard of these people, although it must be said that General Angioni and his principle assistants have used all that space — and sometimes even went beyond it — to do their best.

At the moment of their departure, the entire political leadership of west Beirut went out of its way to emphasise the differences between the role and behaviour of the Italian contingent and that of the other multinational forces: "Through all this period the Italian troops, in contrast with the American and the French, never shot at anyone, never participated in arrests and round-ups and were the only ones deserving the title of a peace contingent. We are deeply indebted to them for having creating a lasting blood-bond between us and the Italian people," Nabih Berri, among others, said in his farewell message. Significantly, at the other pole were the statements of regime and "Lebanese forces" exponents, according to which the Italians "betrayed their commitment to support the central government and army in view of extending their authority over Beirut and all Lebanon."

Beyond all this, however, lies a harder and less mystifying reality. The Italian government associated itself with the goals of US policies in the Middle East and accepted to follow, through the dispatch of the MNF contingent, NATO's directives for an extension of the operational theatre of the US-led pact to Lebanon and beyond. But it ended up caught in a complex trap of domestic and international contradictions from which it could extricate itself only by differentiating its position from that of its MNF partners, accentuating the "humanitarian" nature of its mission and finally deciding to withdraw. In this aspect, the Italian MNF experience represents a crushing failure of NATO's cohesion and another dimension of the universally admitted defeat of the Reagan administration's policies in the Middle East and elsewhere. The Italian government has now officially declared that "the political goals of the MNF mission have failed completely." Undoubtedly such an admission is thick with far-reaching implications for the balance of power in future international relations. And in this — paradoxically — lies the experiment's major 'success.'

continued from page 1

Lebanon Balance

al-Gharbi and al-Kharub with the Lebanese regular troops running as fast as their feet would take them, leaving behind hundreds of armoured vehicles and mountains of brand new sophisticated American arms. The scenes and images on February 6, after a week in which the US-trained and guided Lebanese army literally flooded the densely populated neighbourhoods of south Beirut with American-made phosphorus shells, causing hundreds of victims among women, children and disabled poor inhabitants, the scenes and images of liberated west Beirut — with the population descending into the streets to hail and hug the T-shirted boys driving brand new American tanks willingly ceded by the collapsed army, and on the other hand, with hundreds of Americans hysterically assailing the helicopters sent to evacuate them at their Embassy site — were reminiscent of the liberation of Saigon.

The far-reaching implications of these develoments seem incomprehensible to the powers whose policies are at one and the same time anti-historical and unrealistic. On the American side, there seems to be no capacity for understanding that the 'Tet Offensive' of the Lebanese patriotic forces has not merely defeated, militarily, the US and NATO's presence in Lebanon and, politically, the West's projects for that country, but has inflicted a mortal blow to the entire strategy of the Reagan administration in the Middle East, a few weeks only after the Casablanca Islamic Summit, which had seemed to crown its success. The rapid process of polarisation on a mass level which has already gripped the Arab world, from Tunis to Morocco to Sudan and beyond, is likely to get a potent, fresh impulse from America's debacle in Lebanon, which necessarily implies, at the same time, a defeat for Washington's allies and friends in the Arab regions.

Israel's fatal abyss, on the other hand, lies in its own incapacity to understand that, unlike 1982, a renewed offensive against Lebanon would mean a war against the Lebanese people, a people united behind the determination to defend its own land and its own identity as well as a project for a different society, a people no more living in the illusion that the storm would pass once the Palestinians in their midst are defeated. It is probable that developments in the next days may force both Washington and Tel Aviv to open their eyes.

HALF LEBANON MOURNS MURDERED SHEIKH

West Beirut and all Lebanon were virtually paralysed on February 18 by a general strike and mass demonstrations to protest the assassination two days earlier by the occupation authorities in south Lebanon of the Shi'ite religious leader of Jibshit, Sheikh Ragheb Harb. The assassination of Sheikh Harb, founder of the popular resistance in south Lebanon, who the Israeli army was forced to release last March after 17 days detention due to a vast mass mobilisation throughout the occupied areas to protest his arrest, was actually shot by mercenary "national guards" on precise commission of the occupation command, it is universally believed in Lebanon.

The mercenaries shot Sheikh Harb in the back as he was returning to his home. The two friends who accompanied him were wounded.

On Friday, during the Sheikh's funeral in which thousands of south Lebanese from all over the occupied territories participated, a group of "national guard" mercenaries under Israeli command opened fire on the crowd, wounding five persons. Since the assassination, Jibshit, Nabatiya and the nearby village of Malliq have been under heavy siege with constant arrests, roundups, searches and maltreatment.

Two Attacks in Sidon on Israelis

Four Israeli soldiers were wounded February 19-20 in two separate grenade attacks on Israeli patrols in the capital of south Lebanon, Sidon, according to Israeli reports.

Three soldiers were injured February 19 when a grenade was thrown at a foot patrol in the centre of the city, the Israeli Communist Party organ *Al Ittihad* said. The soldiers opened fire indiscriminately, injuring one civilian. The area was sealed off by soldiers who conducted a search.

In a similiar attack the following day, one Israeli soldier sustained medium wounds when a grenade exploded in his jeep. Israel Radio said the soldier was driving a vehicle which was part of a morning patrol in southern Sidon when it was ambushed. The attackers used automatic

continued on page 4

UNRWA Shuts 3 Institutes After Students 'Disobedience'

The UNRWA-run Teachers Training Centre in Ramallah, the Tireh Teachers Training Centre for Women and the Kalandia Vocational Training Centre for Women were closed indefinitely by the UNRWA regional office in Jerusalem, February 19. UNRWA shut the schools on the pretext that students went against the agency's direction by striking against the comprehensive exam.

Students of the three institutes went on a one-day hunger strike February 18 to protest the Jordanian-imposed and Israeli-administered comprehensive exam for graduating students. Students gathered in the Kalandia Training Centre yard to rally against the exam. Students argue that the comprehensive exam establishes military control over higher education. UNRWA says it is merely administering Jordanian regulations which govern their operations.

Following the announcement of the closures, students from the three institutes gathered again in Kalandia centre, in Kalandia refugee camp, to protest. Student speeches accused the UNRWA administration of trying to pressure them into accepting the comprehensive exams. They called on the director of UNRWA operations in the West Bank to rescind his decision to close the institutes.

The local UNRWA office issued a statement claiming they warned students not to strike before they started the protest.

In a related story, students at the Modern Community College in Ramallah went on hunger strike, February 19 in protest of the comprehensive exam and in solidarity with the three closed institutes. Students at al-Aroub Agricultural Institute in Hebron also issued a statement condemning the closure.

UNRWA closed the Kalandia Professional Training Centre and Tireh Teachers Training Centre last month for one week after demonstrations. At the time UNRWA said the one-week closure was to forestall a longer closure by the Israelis.

Land Fraud Thugs Terrorise Octogenarian

In an apparent land forgery case two unidentified men assaulted February 14 an 84-year-old Qalqiliya man, Mohammed Saleh Nofal, and forced him to sign documents. Nofal told friends later than he did not know what the papers were for. Nofal was taken to hospital suffering injuries to his neck, jaw and hands.

Two men, one of whom was dressed in a police uniform, came to Nofal's house saying they were going to search for weapons. After the search they asked the old man to sign a paper stating that they did not find or take anything.

When Nofal refused to sign the two men handcuffed him, dragged him 200 metres from the house and forced him to stamp the document with his fingerprint.

Nofal's index finger was broken in the struggle. He also suffered bruises to his neck and jaw. He was transferred to Qalqiliya hospital where he remains in stable condition.

Nofal suspects that the paper he was made to sign is related to his plot of land which Israeli settlers have been trying to grab. The large plot, estimated at 466 dunums, is near a road leading to a settlement between the village of Jayyus and Qalqiliya.

During the past few years, several forged land deals have been discovered in the Qalqiliya area. Similar methods were used to obtain the signatures of illiterates on documents which they discover are sale bills after the land is grabbed. (Translation: Al Fajr, February 16, 1984).

Dura Council Demands Poll

The Israeli High Court issued an order *nisi* February 15 requiring the Israeli defence minister and the head of the 'civil administration' to show cause why they refuse to implement Jordanian laws with regard to municipal elections. The order nisi was issued to the deposed Dura municipal council in the Hebron district.

The petition, which was presented on behalf of the municipal council by Jerusalem lawyer Elias Khoury, demanded that municipal elections be held or that the deposed municipal council be restored to office. According to Jordanian law, municipal elections should take place one year after dissolving an elected council or the deposed council should be returned.

Replying to the petition, the representative of the Israeli attorney general said the issue of returning to municipal elections was a "political matter not a legal issue." The representative told the court that the "PLO and its supporters are behind these demands."

The court is expected to reconvene within 45 days to hear the Israeli military authorities' reply and give a ruling on the issue.

The Dura municipal council was dissolved in June 1982 on the pretext that the mayor and the council refused to meet with the Israel 'civil administration.' A municipal committee of Israeli-backed Village Leaguers administers the town's affairs.

Ten other West Bank municipal councils have been dissolved after they refused to deal with the 'civil administration' in 1982. A positive ruling in the case would force elections in the West Bank's major cities. The last municipal elections in the West Bank took place in 1976.

House Burns Down as Fire Brigade Looks on

The house of Niqola Zaki Janho in Ramallah was completely razed February 18 as a result of the local fire brigade's inability to get their engine going or supply water to quench the blaze. Ramallah and al-Bireh residents are formally complaining to the military about the fire service's incompetence.

The extensive damage was a result of a bizarre case of inefficiency and unpreparedness on the part of the fire brigade, which serves the twin cities of Ramallah and al-Bireh. According to the houseowner, he phoned the fire brigade, located two kilometres from his home, three times over two hours and 15 minutes after the blaze started at 4:00 pm and urged them to send the fire truck as quickly as possible. Each time they told him they were trying to fix the car, he reports. The tender had defective gears.

Eventually the fire team drove the tender in reverse to the blazing building. As they drove the fire engine collided with several parked cars, damaging some badly.

When they reached Janho's house they discovered that the tender had no water. The fire finally burned itself out. The house is now a charred structure and will have to be condemned. All furniture and other belongings, including some jewelry, were destroyed. Losses were estimated at JD80,000, including JD25,000 in banknotes.

Israeli police arrived to the scene and began investigating the case. The head of the Jerusalem fire brigade arrived to disconnect electricity.

Feminist's Town Arrest Lifted

A six-month town arrest order imposed in December on 26-year-old Amal Wahdan, an active unionist and feminist, was lifted February 12 with no explanation given by military authorities. Wahdan, who is eight months pregnant, had been ordered not to leave Abu Dis village, outside Jerusalem, without prior permission from the Israeli occupation authorities. This form of travel restriction has been imposed on several hundred Palestinians, especially activists in social, labour, charitable and health organisations.

Through her lawyer Lea Tsemel, Wahdan had already made five applications for travel for medical check-ups and to Gaza to visit her husband Mohammed, who is serving an 18-mont prison sentence there.

Wahdan is a member of the Abu Dis Public Institutions Workers Union and the Women's Work Committee and has been active in joint activities with an Israeli group, Women Against Occupation. Her case generated a great deal of international publicity, especially in feminist circles. Associates of Wahdan told *Al Fajr* they believe the military authorities retracted the order in view of the amount of adverse publicity. Wahdan had also been preparing to appeal her travel restriction in Israeli High Court.

It is the first time a town arrest order has been cancelled by the military authorities. Wahdan's lawyer was informed of the decision when she called the military headquarters in Beit El to obtain another special permit for Amal to visit her husband on the bi-monthly family visit day at prison.

Town Arrest Eased on Gaza Lawyer

A three-member military objections committee (MOC) chaired by a High Court judge recommended February 19 that Khaled Qudra, the deputy chairperson of the Gaza Lawyers Union, be permitted to leave Khan Yunis twice a week for professional reasons. Qudra was given a six-months town arrest order by the military governor of Gaza, December 27, which restricted him to Khan Yunis at the southern end of the Strip. No reason was given for the order.

Qudra told the MOC he was unable to follow cases as he couldn't go to his office in Gaza. Last month an appeal to the MOC for the cancellation of the order was rejected.

The committee recommended that Qudra be allowed to go to his office two days per week. The committee also said that Qudra has the right to apply to the military commander of Gaza for a permit whenever he requires one to perform his job. The MOC recommendation needs final approval of the military governor in Gaza.

Khaled Qudra, who was allowed to attend the session, said he has not committed any offence against security and that the decision to put him under town arrest endangers his professional life, causes him financial hardship and gravely harms his liberty.

Court Upholds Travel Ban on Student

The Israeli High Court rejected an appeal February 13 by Maysara Sayyed, an Acre political activist, to change the provisions of his six-month town arrest order so that he can continue undergraduate studies in Haifa.

Sayyed was obliged to suspend his studies at the Technion Institute last year after he was served with the order restricting him to Acre.

A second court session to review Sayyed's petition to cancel the town restriction is scheduled within one month.

In his appeal, which is backed by the Israeli Civil Rights Association, Sayyed charged that the town arrest order was illegal. He told *Al Fajr* that the Israeli Civil Rights Association intends to review the Defence Emergency Regulations of 1945, inherited from the British mandate, on which town restrictions, administrative detentions and other human rights violations are based.

The Israeli police referred the court to 'secret' files about Sayyed. He is an active member of Abna' al-Balad, the progressive nationalist movement, and the police alleged the group advocates the destruction of Israel.

The police representative opposed allowing Sayyed back on campus saying he would "start a cell of Abna' al-Balad." The police rejected Sayyed's petition to be allowed to travel to Haifa three times a week on the pretext that it would be "hard to keep watch on him during his travel."

Sayyed, an industrial engineering student, enrolled at the Technion Institute in 1981. He was dismissed from Beer Sheba University after three years for political activities. He completed one semester at the Technion when he was put under town arrest for the first time.

He was placed under town arrest a second time in 1983 after he returned from Geneva where he took part in the UN Conference on the Question of Palestine.

Nabulsis Torch Hussein Pix, Battle Israæli Troops

Nablus residents burnt photos of King Hussein February 19 in a demonstration against the latest Jordanian moves. Six residents were arrested when Israeli troops arrived at the Nablus square in order to break up the demonstration. A firebomb was thrown February 19 at an Israeli foot patrol in Nablus. An Israeli military spokesperson claimed no one was hurt in the attack. In Jenin, three firebombs were also thrown February 18 at an Israeli military vehicle. Israeli sources alleged no damage was done.

Nablus residents of the *Qasabah* neighbourhood held demonstrations February 18, burnt tires in the streets and stoned Israeli soldiers. The soldiers retaliated by shooting in the air to disperse the demonstrators. Tear gas was used in the narrow streets of the *Qasabah*.

Meanwhile, Israeli military sources said a firebomb was thrown February 19 at the house of the *mukhtar* of Kalandia camp. Israel Radio said no one was hurt in the attack but the house was damaged. It said Israeli soldiers searched the camp and arrested two youths. (Translation: Al Ittihad, February 20, 1984).

Arafat Leads in Glasgow U. Rector Race

PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat is leading the list of candidates for the post of rector of Glasgow University, Scotland, according to reports from the UK.

The post of rector, titular head of the university, is very prestigious. In Scottish universities' rectors are elected by student ballot. Reports from the city say Arafat stands a good chance of winning because alternative candidates do not command wide backing.

In recent years left-wing and liberal students have nominated prominent British leftists or third world revolutionaries for the post of rector. Rightists usually plump for members of the royal family or other establishment personalities rather than political figures.

The poll is March 5. The Glasgow University Students Union is twinned with their Bir Zeit University counterparts.

Pro-Jordanians Sign Up, Says Israæl TV

A number of pro-Jordanian figures in the West Bank have signed a statement calling upon Jordan's King Hussein to enter negotiations with Israel in the case of failure between any PLO-Jordan meetings, Israel Television reported last week.

The Israeli report broadcast February 17 and 19 said over 60 Palestinian figures signed the statement and that a Jordanian lawyer, Issam Anani, left for Amman to prepare for a West Bank delegation to hand it personally to King Hussein.

Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij confirmed that he had signed a document but denied that it was a call for Hussein to enter negotiations alone. "I don't remember exactly what the text of the document was but I believe it was only calling for a rapprochement between (PLO Chairman Yasir) Arafat and Hussein. It didn't mention a call to Hussein to enter negotiations alone," Freij told *Al Fajr*.

Sa'eb Ariqat, Najah University's public relations director, denied the Israel TV report that he was among the signatories.

Others named by the Israelis as signatories include Najah University Board of Trustees Chairperson Hikmat Masri, ex-Gaza Mayor Rashad Shawwa and *Al Quds* newspaper publisher Mahmoud Abu Zuluf.

Al Fajr was not able to contact Masri, Anani or Abu Zuluf for comment. They are all in Amman. No text of the document has been published.

Ramallah Lawyer Jailed For Membership

An Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced lawyer Shukri Aboudi, 25, to six months jail and 18 months suspended February 16 on charges of membership in an illegal organisation. He was fined IS50,000 or two additional months in Jail.

Aboudi, a practising lawyer, was arrested December 25 from his home in the village of Ain Arik, west of Ramallah. Israeli soldiers and plainclothes policemen came to his house at midnight and took him to Ramallah prison.

During the court session Jerusalem lawyer Ali Ghozlan argued that the charges against his client date to 1979 when he was studying in Iraq. He also argued that his confession was extracted by force.

Dheishans Protest Refugee Rations Cut

Three members from the Dheisheh Youth Social Centre discussed the deteriorating economic situation in the camp February 14 with Abdullah Hamdan, director of UNRWA operations in Hebron, and Talal Habbab, the agency's director of Dheisheh camp. They demanded UNRWA continue providing rations to poor people.

One hundred and eighty-one Dheisheh families received rations of wheat, sugar, oil and blankets from UNRWA until last month, when the agency cut aid to those over 18.

During the meeting the UNRWA representatives agreed to provide those over 18 with assistance if they are students or unemployed.

Youth Social Centre members also asked for a meeting with Roy Skinner, director of UNRWA operations in the West Bank.

Members of the youth centre told *Al Fajr* that UNRWA Commissioner-General Olof Rydbeck visited the camp February 1 and saw the closed entrances of the camp and heard a report of the local petition to the Israeli High Court. Rydbeck talked with local residents and expressed disapproval of the collective punishment measures, they said.

Local Councils Strike to Protest Low Budgets

Forty-two Arab local councils in the Galilee and the Triangle struck February 16 for two hours to protest the low level of government budgeting. They demanded the authorities cover deficits and give local councils "proper budgets." They estimate they have a deficit of IS1 billion from 1982-83.

The strike decision had been taken at a meeting of Arab local council heads in Shafa 'Amr February 8.

Ibrahim Nimr Hussein, chairperson of the Heads of Arab Local Councils Committee, contrasted his IS15,000,000 budget for Shafa 'Amr — population 22,000 — with the Israeli town of Safad, which is budgeted IS300,000,000 by the government for its 16,000 population. Hussein said that the budgets transferred to the local councils in the Galilee and the Triangle are based on a superficial accounting of expenses. Hussein said dialogue and discussions will continue with Israeli ministries to try and resolve the situation.

Israeli Knesset Member Arbeli Mezelini, who has responsibility for the affairs of Arab local councils, called on the councils not to strike.

Robin Ben Tsion, Israel's deputy minister for labour and social affairs, visited the village of Jatt in the Triangle February 16 and discussed problems with council chairperson Ahmad Abu Osbeh.

SIC Demands Protection for Al Aqsa

The Supreme Islamic Council sent a letter to Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir February 12 demanding the Israeli government take necessary measures to protect al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem's Old City.

The letter, signed by the head and secretary of the SIC, Sheikh Sa'ad al-Din al-Alami and Hassan Tahboub, warned that the continuing attempts to undermine the holy mosque would "bring unforeseen consequences."

The two-page letter contained a detailed account of Israeli attacks against al-Aqsa, the third holiest shrine for Muslims.

The letter accused government and municipal officials with extremist views of directing attacks against the holy shrine. The SIC demanded that the authorities take preventive measures in order to "stop extremists getting into the mosque's courtyard."

An Israeli group brought 13 kilos of TNT and 19 grenades into al-Aqsa January 27. They were chased away by guards before they could detonate the bombs. So far no one has been arrested.

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

JERUSALEM — Registration begins immediately for courses in French at the YWCA. Classes will be held from March through May for three levels: beginners will meet on Tuesdays and Wednesdays, 4:30 to 6:00 pm; intermediates, Tuesdays and Wednesdays, 6:30 to 8:30 pm and the advanced, Wednesdays and Saturdays, 10:30 am to noon. Call 28-2593 for more information.

Individuals interested in joining the YWCA choir under the direction of Salwa Tabri should call the YWCA. Rehearsals start on February 28 at 7:45 pm. (English)

An English typing class is offered at the YWCA Monday thru Thursday. The cost is JD25.

Art classes are held at the YWCA every Tuesday from 9-1 am. (English)

Friday, February 24: 1:00 -3:00 pm. Women Against Occupation will demonstrate at Neve Tertza prison for women in Ramle in protest agaisnt the harsh treatment accorded Palestinian political prisoners. For more information regarding WAO write P.O. Box 2760 Tel Aviv.

Saturday, February 25: 2:30 pm, Annual General meeting for members of the Secular Humanist Association in Israel. Tel Aviv

Monday, February 27: 6:30 pm, Committee Against Racism. Meeting at Peace Now offices, 2 Ha'elkoshi St. Tel Aviv.

Saturday, March 3: 6:30 pm, Tel Aviv Branch of Committee in Solidarity with Bir Zeit University. Meeting in Tel Aviv.

Saturday March 3: Beer Sheba, Laqiya, painting, gardening in Beduin cemetery and memorial in support of Beduin rights.

continued from page 2

The South

fire and grenades in the attack.

Later the same day two grenades were thrown at a military convoy outside Sidon but there were no casualties reported. Israel Radio reported that after the incident, Israeli bulldozers uprooted trees in the orchard near the attack site.

Israeli army radio reported that two grenades were thrown at two transport trucks as they passed through Nabatiya the same day. The radio claimed there were no casualties. An Israeli military position near the village of Kufr Quoq in the east came under small arms fire from Syrian positions February 18. *The Jerusalem Post* said there were no casualties.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 199, February 22, 1984:

Number of original articles submitted to censors	23
Number of articles totally censored out	2
Number of articles censored but used	1
Number of articles passed	20

The Dawn

AL FAJR

AL FAJR — Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

Publisher:
Paul A. Ajlouny
Editor-in-Chief:
H.S. Siniora
Managing Editor:
Sam'an Khoury

Tel: (02) 281035
P.O. Box 19315
East Jerusalem

Telex no.s:
Jerusalem: 26467 omar il
Washington: 64677 omar uw

Al Fajr was founded in 1972 by Yusef Nasr, who edited the paper until his kidnapping in 1974. The English edition was first published in April 1980. The Dawn (Al Fajr) Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (UPS 686630) is published weekly for $50.00 per year by Paul Ajlouny, 16 Crowell St., Hempstead, N.Y. 11550. Second class postage paid at Hempstead, N.Y.

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Al Fajr 2025 I Street N.W., Suite 925, Washington D.C., 20006.

A Difficult Game

Israel TV reported twice this week about a document they said initially was signed by some 60 and later 80 West Bank and Gaza figures calling on King Hussein of Jordan and PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir Arafat to reach an agreement. Should this not come about they call on Hussein to take unilateral action "on behalf of" the Palestinian people.

The signatories named by Israel are direct beneficiaries of the Jordanian regime, yet at least one of them immediately denied being involved with the document in a statement in the local papers the next morning.

This is not the first incident of its kind. Jordan has been moving toward the West Bank with hands extended for a long time. During the past year, as part of the process of increasing pressure on the PLO, Jordan has imposed a series of restrictions on Palestinians in the occupied territories and in Jordan.

Since April 1983, the restrictions have hit all levels of life: agriculture, industry, education, travel and the work of national institutions.

In the occupied West Bank the Jordanian regime honed in on elected municipal councils and pressured its agents to cooperate with the 'civil administration.'

In Jordan itself reports reaching here this week speak of hundreds of Palestinians being persecuted by the Jordanian regime. Political activists are jailed, students and youths are drafted or threatened with the draft and even the prisoners recently released from Israel's south Lebanon prison camp, Ansar, are restricted. Scores are brought for interrogation or put under forms of house arrest.

Jordan speaks truly when it says the PLO is the sole representative of the Palestinian people but its moves indicate clearly that it not only wants a share of the pie but has prepared the ground to play the role of Brutus — to stick the last knife in the back of the PLO.

But Hussein and his elements — here and in Jordan — should remember that the PLO is not an individual whom they can stab and kill; it is the whole Palestinian nation here and in the diaspora. Facing the whole nation is not going to be easy.

AL FAJR — Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: ONE YEAR: US$50.00

NAME. . . . . .

ADDRESS . . . . . .

ENCLOSED IS A CHEQUE FOR THE AMOUNT . . . . . .

DATE . . . . . .

SIGNED . . . . . .

Mail to:
Al Fajr Palestinian Weekly
PO Box 19315
East Jerusalem
Via Israel

In US:
Al Fajr Palestinian Weekly
2025 Eye St. NW, Suite 925
Washington DC, 20006 USA

Mubarak States Goal: Mutual Palestinian-Israeli Recognition

by Ghassan Bishara
Our Washington, DC Correspondent

WASHINGTON, DC — At the White House East Room, Egyptian President Husni Mubarak spelled out his country's position on the important issues of the Middle East, Islamic world and Africa. He also answered those who criticised PLO Chairman Arafat's visit to Cairo in the most daring speech by any Arab head of state, signalling to both Jordan's King Hussein and US President Reagan where Egypt stands on the Palestinian issue.

The three leaders stood in the East Room of the White House to escape the drenching rain and spoke about their countries' positions. President Mubarak, who looked relaxed, spoke of Egypt's ties with the US, emphasising the need to strengthen those ties while also thanking the US and its people for the financial aid they provide. He described the situation in Lebanon as "intolerable," saying that violence there is a "threat to us all." He called for the expansion of the role of the UN forces in order to reinforce them. He said partition of Lebanon should be prevented at any cost, calling for a "prompt and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon."

The "Israeli invasion," Mubarak said, "is the root and the cause of the present, sad situation." He also indirectly expressed criticism of the US role in Lebanon, saying, "No problem can be solved through foreign intervention and the use of force."

The Egyptian president, like King Hussein the day before, emphasised the centrality of the Palestinian problem and said it "must be addressed promptly and without delay." He said Egypt's purpose is to bring about mutual Palestinian-Israeli recognition: "first and foremost Palestinian people's right of self-determination should be honoured and exercised. This is the clue to peace and security for all nations, including Israel," he said.

Addressing President Reagan, Mubarak said, "The Palestinian people are entitled to your support and understanding ... there is no substitute for a direct dialogue with them through their chosen representative, the PLO." He said that this dialogue will serve the cause of peace. "Mr. Arafat is a responsible leader who has demonstrated tremendous courage under the most difficult circumstances. A dialogue with Mr. Arafat would reassure the Palestinian people and rekindle their hope for a better future... No other nation can speak for the Palestinians," he said.

Sending a message to King Hussein, Mubarak added, "No other entity has a mandate to lay on their requirements for peace and no other nation is more qualified than the American people lending their support and backing."

Briefing journalists at the White House, a senior administration official opened by saying, "You can't control the statement of a departing president," attempting to distance Reagan from Mubarak's comments. Although the administration did not have to agree with President Mubarak's statement, the attempt at repudiating what he said is unprecedented. The official said that the US position on dialogue with the PLO remains the same, conditional on PLO recognition of Israel, and acceptance of UN resolutions 242 and 338.

Missing in Mubarak's departure statement was Egypt's commitment to the Camp David accords. The closest he came to mentioning them was when he said that Egypt "is devoted to strengthening the structure of peace in our region and throughout the world." Jordan, he said, has a role to play "in solidifying the structure of peace." Egypt, he concluded, "supports the dialogue between Jordan and the PLO," describing it as "a positive step towards peace."

Hussein Leaves Washington Empty-Handed

by Ghassan Bishara

Once again King Hussein of Jordan is in Washington DC. He was invited to the White House by President Reagan, from Cleveland, Ohio, where he was undergoing medical tests. And once again the Arab king will go back empty-handed.

Following his release from the Cleveland medical clinic, the Jordanian monarch arrived in Washington from Colorado, February 13, where he spent time with Saudi ambassador to Washington, DC, Prince Bandar. The King looked healthy standing next to the US president at the White House. He reaffirmed common ideals and principles with the American President and said that both the US and Jordan strive for a "better tomorrow" and a "stable and just and durable peace in the region."

Both Hussein and Reagan recommitted themselves to UN Security Council resolution 242 and to regional peace, and agreed that "terrorism cannot be tolerated and that the leaders of all states must stand together against this new barbarism and threat to civilisation."

A senior US administration official, briefing reports at the White House on the basis that his name not be disclosed, said that the two leaders discussed the situation in Lebanon, security for Jordan, the Iran-Iraq war and the 'peace process.' The president, the official said, assured King Hussein that the US will not abandon Lebanon and will continue the peace process, regardless of elections in the US. He said King Hussein emphasised that the problem to be dealt with is the Palestine problem and not Lebanon.

Asked about the Palestinian right to self-determination and if this topic was discussed, the official said that although self-determination has been cherished by America since its independence, it has become synonymous with a Palestinian state, which the US does not support.

The official repeated more than five times that King Hussein sees the focus in the Middle East to be the Palestinian problem, and that Lebanon is a diversion. Asked if the president has done or told the King anything to satisfy his emphasis on the Palestinian issue, the official replied "we didn't satisfy the King's emphasis." Asked if anything new was presented to the king about his focus on the Palestinian issue the official said, "No, the US has its views and the king does, too."

The American goernment, it is clear, will not propose anything substantial on the Palestinian issue, regardless of what Arab heads of ate suggest, especially because Arab leaders only suggest and are not willing to enforce these suggestions with anything meaningful.

OPINION

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

EXPERIENCE GRINDS AWAY AT IDEALISM

To the Editor:

I am a young American Christian who, after two months in Israel and the West Bank, wants to add his voice on behalf of the Palestinian people. I speak only for myself.

We of the Bethlehem Peace Pilgrimage arrived in Haifa, December 4, to complete a 12,000 kilometre walk for nuclear disarmament, an 11-country outreach, a 21 -month prayer for conversion of hearts and for peace. Our route to Bethlehem led through 13 towns, including Nazareth, Afula, Hadera, Tulkarm, Nablus, Ramallah and Jerusalem.

Before entering Israel we resolved to withhold comment, to listen and learn. We attempted to deepen our understanding of Jewish history — especially the endless suffering from discrimination, from alienation, from ghetto life, pogroms, and, finally, the holocaust. We studied the more recent threats, wars, and violence here which have provided ample reason to fear Arab states and the PLO. We tried to grasp the aspirations of Zionists and others who seek fulfillment of dreams and prophecies. Finally, we visited Israeli families, synagogues, memorials, holy places, and later, kibbutzim, the Yad Vashem (holocaust memorial) and Massada. All this confirmed my admiration for a people so resilient, rich in culture, faith, and determination. It taught me that this state is a kind of miracle, a fragile foothold which desperately needs international support.

I am not anti-Semitic. Yet my admiration for Israel faded in the West Bank, as experience ground away at idealism.

The sun was setting as we gathered on the ruins of a home near Ramallah. Below the jumble of concrete, wire and glass lay the worldly possessions of a Palestinian family. They'd had about five minutes' warning. Since 1967, 1350 homes have been demolished by government order. What was the cause, this time? Lack of the building permit so difficult to obtain? Another Israeli appropriation of land? Rock-throwing by the children? No — on this occasion, one son had been implicated in a PLO-affiliated group. It would have been sufficient, had he joined only to express his yearning for a Palestinian state. His family was designated to be yet another example. Will others heed now, and submit?

"The blow that does not kill me transforms me, so that I will be stronger to change the world." Thus said a Tulkarm man, paraphrasing (PLO Chairman Yasir) Arafat. He was aging prematurely, having suffered three consecutive, unexplained imprisonments, totalling 96 days. During that confinement, he related, beatings and extended immersion in freezing water were not uncommon, and he was tortured by electric shock. Again and again we heard similar accounts from others.

Tension was still high in Nablus when we entered carrying a banner marked "Peace" in Hebrew, Arabic and five other languages. Locals winced at the word; days before, 11-year-old Aisheh (al-Bahash) had been murdered by an outraged settler. He pumped three bullets into the back of this innocent girl and remains unpunished. Perhaps now, children will finally be deterred from throwing stones.

But in Nablus, as elsewhere, youths are still willing, through sheer, defiant human dignity, to trade a few stones for bullets.

"I don't want to become the victim of the children of the martyrs of Auschwitz," said an Arab priest whose work has inspired peace activists worldwide and who serves a community of Muslims and Christians. Potent words.

"But haven't we heard that before?" With systematic repression, harassment and organised terrorism against West Bank Palestinians on the rise, it is all too easy to make allusions to Nazism. Israelis have long been plagued by foreigners like me, who come to pass judgement, offering pat solutions to complex issues, criticising without considering historical context, Arab hostilities and legitimate national interests. I do not want to join the ranks of the screamers.

Yet my empathy for Israelis suffered in the West Bank. It crumbled with the ruins of house number 1350. It fainted away with the Tulkarm man, in his unnoticed agony. It died with the Nablus girl. It is crushed under fortress-settlements, torn away with stolen land, wasted from occupation.

Members of the Bethlehem Peace Pilgrimage outside the Old City of Jerusalem: "My empathy for Israelis suffered in the West Bank. It crumbled with the ruins of house number 1350."

Outside the occupied territory, a week's worth of stories was largely confirmed by literature, documentaries, journalists, professors and representatives of the three major religions. Yet I met few Israelis who dare to research, to openly acknowledge and to oppose violations of human rights in the West Bank. One hears much about racism and discrimination. But the smokescreen of complexities, prejudices, loyalties, memories, fears and propaganda seem to prevent decisive action for reform.

I've been encouraged by the many groups which foster dialogue, cooperation and understanding between Arabs and Jews. They are healing wounds and laying foundations for peaceful coexistence. Yet, for obvious reasons, West Bank Palestinians seem less interested in dialogue than in basic justice, in cooperation than in liberation, in sympathy than in solidarity that takes risks.

In the Dheisheh refugee camp near Bethlehem I asked a journalist under 'house arrest' for a year, "What Israeli group gives you hope?" He cited "Solidarity with Bir Zeit," whose members had come to work in the camp.

So far, this has been a plea for mercy. There are many other levels on which justice could be argued. People seem to be aware of the degree to which militarism is shaping this society, especially with the war in Lebanon and the nature of settlements. The attitudes governing treatment of the neighbour, or of the stranger and dissenter within, must eventually take their toll on the family of Israel. Perhaps TNT (an Israeli group, Terror Against Terror) and the lack of adequate measures against it are symptomatic of a deeper disease. The present picture seems ominous. But even if settlement strategies were to 'succeed' — through the silencing, taming, killing and expulsion of Palestinians — what would be gained? Another people would be decimated and in diaspora. International solidarity for Israel would be damaged even more. And, if nothing else matters, the Chosen People would have forsaken their pleading God who spoke through prophets like Samuel, Isaiah and Amos.

You may wonder at my presumption in writing this. I have to. My hands are stained with Palestinian blood. As an American, my ignorance, apathy and inaction have permitted ongoing support of West Bank policies. Money (US$2.6 billion in overall grants for fiscal year 1984, not counting private funding, compared to US$6 million for Palestinians), 'strategic' favours and folks like Rabbi Meir Kahane flow from the US like carcinogens to a weakened body.

As a Christian, I accept a measure of guilt for past persecution of the Jewish people. However, this does not bind me to silence, to shouldering other, avoidable burdens at the hands of men like Begin, Sharon and Shamir. While I worry about the future of Israel, I now worry more about the Palestinians who were, after all, living here before the state of Israel. I'm becoming zealous for Palestinian self-determination. Looking at Massada, I see the West Bank.

So what do I advocate? First of all, following God's will has never been a guarantee for national security. But in the case of the West Bank, I think that returning the land may prove most practical, in the long run. With many others I envision a confederation of states here that may relieve constant struggling over borders, resources, access to ports and even religious differences. The solution, of course, will involve, above all, detachment from Soviet and American manipulation, and much of the work will have to take place in the USA.

So much for pat solutions, for screaming. What follows, I think, is more important.

I look forward to the final messianic coming. But knowing that will be a day of reckoning, I have to ask myself these questions: What is the cost of security? Of compliance with terrorism, in whatever form? Of silence?

What does faith in God have to say about the sacredness of human life, such as that of Palestinians?

What are the implications of relying on military solutions in the nuclear age?

What, once again, does it mean to be 'Israel'?

Dean McFalls
USA

WILL THE REAGAN PLAN BE IMPOSED VIA THE BACK DOOR?

To the editor:

Someone has sent me a copy of *Al Fajr* (December 23, 1983) which I read with interest.

Under the heading "Window on the Arab Press," I note the article entitled "Rudeness" from *Al Sha'ab*, December 18, to which I wish to refer:

Strange though it may appear at first sight, I do not see how it can be assumed that Gemayel's vist [to Libya] constituted "rudeness." Tactics are complex these days but surely were Reagan to accept an invitation to meet the Soviet leader, or vice versa, this would not constitute *a priori* anything derogatory . . .

As for the implication that Yasir Arafat would not be admitted to Libya, this is a bare-faced lie since he had an invitation to go there. That he turned it down is his own business, of course. But people who are seriously concerned with justice for the Palestinians might be forgiven for thinking that Yasir Arafat is more concerned with 'going through the motions', i.e. talking for the sake of preserving appearances rather than the real thing: not only did he not go to Libya; not only did he behave most 'rudely' to Syria — the one power that means business and one of the few effective bulwarks against Zionist expansionism — but he actually went to Egypt where Sadat's successor rules in the same spirit, it would seem.

I am a socialist: I do not believe that socialism will ever be established in Britain with the help of US finance. Similarly I do not believe that Zionism can be contained, least of all finally defeated, by trusting those who are armed by US imperialism.

Is the Reagan plan after all to be salvaged, resurrected and — via the back door — imposed upon the Arab masses?

A. C. Stock
London, UK

Reaction to the Karp report on legal violations in the occupied territories was predictable, **Awad Abdel Fattah** found when scanning the Israeli press for *Al Fajr*. He reports on how left and right received their government employee's censure.

Israeli Reactions to the Karp Committee Report

The publication of the Karp committee's report on the failure of the Israeli authorities to investigate settlers' crimes against Palestinians in the occupied territories caused official and public controversy in Israel.

Since it was made public February 7 — two years after it was completed — Deputy Israeli Attorney General Yehudit Karp, who headed the investigation committee, has been strongly criticised by extreme right wingers. They accuse her of outright lying. Less harsh, but no less critical, were government officials who have accused her of writing her political views into the report. Some, including Minister of Interior Yosef Burg, are now retracting their personal criticisms of Karp after Defence Minister Moshe Arens publicly defended her in Knesset committee. The report and the ensuing controversy was widely covered in all Israeli newspapers, but only *Yediot Aharanot* published the report in full. Other newspapers ran short reviews of the report and responses.

The controversy, according to *HaAretz*, caused "resentment" among law officials. "Law sources," it said, "expressed regret because the government didn't handle the serious findings of the report in a serious way. Instead, they turned the subject into a political issue with members of Knesset from the coalition (Likud) and the opposition competing on a partisan basis." These sources, *HaAretz* continued, expressed fear that the partisan differences will divert attention from the main subject in an attempt to avoid "the shocking cases which appeared in the report."

The first strong criticism of the report came from Burg, who had a bitter argument with the government legal advisor, Attorney General Professor Yitzhak Zamir, the day before publication. He claimed that the head of the investigation committee, Yehudit Karp, included her political views in the report. Burg charged that "in this way great damage was done to the name of Israel." He said he believed that the report should not be discussed in the country. But as the controversy over the report continued, Burg retreated in the face of public criticism and denied that he had said anything against the report. He claimed that he only criticised Karp because of "her strong criticism of the role of the police."

Harsher criticism came from *Yesha'* movement, the umbrella organisation which represents the settlers in the occupied territories. It issued a statement claiming that Yehudit Karp did not give correct information in at least nine of the 15 cases on which she reported in depth. The statement also said that she depended on the testimony of a police investigator, "whose authenticity is in question, and therefore the report is full of distortions."

The southern district police commander Yehoshua Caspi, who said that he does not want to discuss the findings of the report, said that the 15 cases investigated by the committee constitute only 21.4 per cent of all unsolved cases.

The Council of Jewish Settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip also issued a strongly-worded response. They said, "It is regrettable that the Karp committee is an expression of political viewpoints in the disguise of a legal committee. The settlement council shares the view of the interior minister that Mrs. Karp wrote a political report and not a legal report."

In the Knesset law committee, February 8, a heated discussion broke out when Likud supporters accused Karp of preparing a distorted report. Labour Party members claimed that the government had tried for a long time to evade discussion of the report, which was held for 22 months. "The holding of the report," said Moshe Shahal (Labour), "testifies to the lack of desire to face the seriousness of the problem of discrimination in law enforcement." Michael Kliner (Likud) claimed that Karp showed unnecessary sensitivity towards Arabs and that she does not understand Israeli settlers.

Defence Minister Moshe Arens (centre) addressing the Knesset Law Committee on the report issued by Yehudit Karp's (second from right) investigative committee: "Moshe Arens publicly defended her in Knesset Committee."

"The attempt to harm Yehudit Karp is no more than an attempt to 'adjust' law enforcement for the political ends of the rulers who try to shelter law offenders – the Jews in the West Bank."

Above: Settlers attacking Aren's car in July 1983 to pressure him into tougher reprisals against Palestinians. Left: Settlers out for a stroll. "Israel is a short way from being turned from a state with law to a state where the ruler decides the law."

Israeli newspapers ran several articles criticising those who attacked the report and its writer. One of the strongest articles was that by Amnon Rubinstein in *HaAretz*, a professor of law and Shinui Party MK. He began by strongly criticising the ruling party in general, before shifting to Burg's attack on Karp and that of the minister of justice. He accused Burg of trying to divert public attention from the truth. Rubinstein concludes, "The most dangerous response is the constant waving of the fact that acts by Arabs also went unsolved." He elaborated saying, "The minister of justice, who remained silent about the vicious attacks against the employees of his ministry and himself, ignored the report as if it did not exist and attached to the report data about Arabs' acts which have not been solved yet."

In another passage Rubinstein says that the strange behaviour of the interior and justice ministers and spokepersons from the Likud put them under suspicion that they do not care about law enforcement and the principles of equality.

Israeli official attitudes, which were reflected in newspaper editorials, were generally not critical of the report or the head of the committee with the exception of *Yediot Aharanot*. Some editorials approached the report as an example of democracy at work in Israel. *Ma'ariv*, a right wing paper, said "... those who think that the findings are not serious and see the report as proof that the authorities did not behave discriminatorily must be satisfied that the fact that the subject was investigated at all shows that Israeli rule does not put the settlers above the law."

Yediot Aharanot, also a right wing paper, pointed to the public debate which has arisen after every investigation committee. Without addressing the report or discussing any point in it, it concludes with the advice that "we should think twice when we need to form a committee in the future."

Al Hamishmar's editorial was radically different from the rest of the papers. It came out against those who attacked the report and Yehudit Karp. *Inter alia* it said, "The committee which was appointed by former Prime Minister Menachem Begin (after pressure from the law faculty professors at Hebrew University) operated exactly in accordance with what was said in the appointment letter, and its findings are based on examined facts."

It continues cynically, "But Yehudit Karp harmed 'the holiest of the holy' extremist settlers, settlers of Kiryat Arba, who refused to cooperate with the police." In another place it says, "Since the preparation of the report, there has been no improvement in law enforcement on those fanatic elements who try to terrorise the West Bank population through attacks in order to force them to give up their rights and maybe even to leave their homeland."

The paper ends its editorial: "The attempt to harm Yehudit Karp is no more than an attempt to 'adjust' law enforcement for the political ends of the rulers who try to shelter law offenders — the Jews in the West Bank. Consequently, Israel is a short way from being turned from a state with law to a state where the ruler decides the law."

The Palestinian press is very young, yet fairly diverse. Awad Abdel Fattah of *Al Fajr* visited the newspapers and discussed with editors and workers the ethos and practice of their craft in the occupied territories as well as the history of the publications.

Palestinian Newspapers:

A Broad Spectrum of Opinion

One of the first issues of *Al Fajr* English exchanges hands at a Jerusalem newstand in summer 1980/JM

How many newspapers are sold does not always reflect its popularity. Jerusalemites often use the Damascus Gate newstand as a reading room/SF

Palestinian newspapers have all survived difficult political circumstances resulting from the consecutive foreign dominations of the Palestinian occupied territories. They continue to appear and function on a regular basis despite restrictions imposed on them by the latest occupation authorities. According to Palestinian newspaper owners and journalists, it is not the "alleged Israeli liberal occupation" which has enabled the Palestinian press to survive but it is their own determination not to give up.

Palestinians in the occupied territories today have access to three daily Arabic-language newspapers, *Al Fajr*, *Al Sha'ab* and *Al Quds*, and two weekly tabloids, *Al Talia* and *Al Mithaq*. English *Al Fajr*, which is banned in the West Bank outside East Jerusalem, is read locally by Palestinian intellectuals and students, but its main readership is outside.

The Palestinian newspapers, which all are based in Jerusalem, differ in basic areas but all are against Israeli occupation. There are differences on the journalistic and technical levels and in the degree of commitment to general PLO policy. Not unlike other countries, there has always been intense competition between the Palestinian newspapers for sales. Each paper tries to cover as much news as possible in the occupied territories. But the strict Israeli censorship of the Palestinian press leaves little chance to compete for 'scoops.' Another area of competition is in improving the technical level of the papers. But even this kind of competition is different from the West. Newspapers here live in the reality of occupation and their owners believe their first and main purpose is to "fulfill a national duty towards the Palestinian population under occupation."

Almost all newspapers have improved since their first publication: the number of pages has been increased, the lay-out has been improved and there has been a constant increase in the number of journalists. Modern offset printing machines have been introduced to some newspapers, replacing hot lead type and allowing the development of other innovations in the use of graphics and photographs.

The main topics covered by the local Palestinian newspapers relate to the daily practices of the occupation authorities: the confiscaton of lands, building settlements, demolition of houses, arrests, protest actions such as demonstrations, rallies and press conferences. Social and arts activities and voluntary work are also important subjects for the papers.

All of the newspapers now circulating started after the 1967 Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Those newspapers appearing in the West Bank before 1967 were either stopped or transferred to Amman at the request of the Jordanian government after the June war. *Al Quds* is the only newspaper which renewed publication shortly after 1967.

Al Quds, the First

The first Palestinian newspaper which was permitted to circulate by the Israelis after the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip was *Al Quds* (Jerusalem). *Al Quds*, which Palestinians consider strongly pro-Jordanian, was actually created by the Jordanian government. A veteran journalist who once worked in the paper told *Al Fajr* that in 1966 the then-Jordanian military government of the West Bank issued an order that the offices of all newspapers based in Jerusalem be transferred to Amman. The owners of *Al Manar* and *Filastin* newspapers complied with the order and merged into one paper called *Al Dustour* and moved to Amman. Two other newspapers, *Al Difa'a* and *Al Jihad* also merged into *Al Quds*, but continued publishing in Jerusalem.

"These Jordanian measures were politically motivated," said the journalist who refused to have his name published. He himself quit the paper in protest of the step, especially after the "Jordanian authorities employed three pro-Jordanian writers to attack the Syrian and Egyptian regimes."

The 1967 war brought about the immediate halt of all Palestinian newspapers in Jerusalem. One year later, Mahmoud Abu Zuluf, the present owner of *Al Quds*, restarted his presses under the same license, thus breaking the general consensus of not working under occupation. Other newspaper owners and journalists refused to resume work. "Our refusal to restart our papers," explained Ali Ya'ish, the owner of *Al Sha'ab*, "was based on overriding political considerations of the Israeli occupation." However, Abu Ali resumed his journalistic work several years later after he became "convinced that we have our own national duty towards our people."

***Al Quds*, which employs 70 people, began as a four-page paper and later expanded to eight pages. Six months ago, the paper began publishing 12 pages twice weekly. Its owner has plans to develop it into a 12-page daily after its purchase of a modern offset press. According to Abu Zuluf, *Al Quds* distributes 23-25,000 papers daily. The number of commercial ads published in it far surpasses that published in other newspapers.**

Explaining the policy of the newspaper, Issam al-Kurd, one of the editors, said that *Al Quds* "deals with news as news." He elaborated, saying that *Al Quds* is independent and is not affiliated with any political party or any PLO faction. "We cover all Arab, Palestinian and international events, regardless," he said.

Abu Zuluf claims he is not involved in politics. "I am only a businessman," he said. He also claims that his paper has the largest distribution in the occupied territories because "it is a serious newspaper and its news coverage is accurate." Readers complain, however, that the paper's emphasis is on international and Arab news, to the neglect of local events, and that it has reflected the political line of the Jordanian government since it started.

The pro-Jordanian stand of the paper has singled out *Al Quds* for criticism by the nationalist community. In 1978 the West Bank mayors decided to boycott *Al Quds* after it supported the Camp David accords in its editorials, but the boycott was short-lived. There have also been two assassination attempts against Abu Zuluf in the last 10 years. Three youths from the Old City of Jerusalem were sentenced to imprisonment for the attacks.

Israeli censorship does not exclude *Al Quds* from its purview, however. According to Issam al-Kurd, news of arrests, demonstrations, house demolitions and land confiscations are subject to censorship cuts. "About 30 percent of the news is censored every day," al-Kurd said. On January 25, 1980 *Al Quds* was closed for the first time by the Israeli authorities for reporting the arrest of an Islamic cell (before its members were tried and convicted), without sending it to censorship.

However, journalists from other newspapers believe that *Al Quds* is viewed by the Israelis as moderate and, as such, favoured. "*Al Quds* is the only paper which the Israelis are satisfied with," one journalist said. As proof, critics cite the fact that Abu Zuluf's paper is the only Palestinian newspaper which Israel allows political prisoners to read.

Al Sha'ab

Al Sha'ab (The People) appeared after the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Its owner, Abu Ali Ya'ish, has had a long journalistic career beginning in 1934 in Jaffa where he worked in a number of newspapers until 1940. Then he moved to Nablus and later to Jerusalem. In 1953 he joined three others, including Mahmoud Abu Zuluf, and issued a newspaper called *Al Jihad*. A short time later, they issued an evening English-language newspaper, *The Jerusalem Times*, which lasted for only three years. Abu Ali was prominent among the journalists who sponsored the boycott after the 1967 occupation. But in 1971 he saw advantages in opening a newspaper. In 1972 he got a publication license from the Israeli interior ministry and a four-page paper began appearing. "I wanted my paper to be different from *Al Quds*," said Abu Ali, adding that he wanted to concentrate on local issues and on the daily practices of the Israeli occupation authorities against the Palestinians.

The weak financial position of *Al Sha'ab* has not enabled it to compete on a par with other newspapers from the technical angle. It has managed to add only two pages since it started and there are no more than 15 employees. The printing process is hot lead, and typographical errors are not rare. The circulation is much less than *Al Quds* but the figures are closely guarded by Abu Ali. Because of these weaknesses and because of the strict censorship, *Al Sha'ab* depends on translations from other newspapers, and particularly the Israeli press. At least one article and sometimes two from the Israeli press are used daily. Even these translated articles have to be sent to military censorship. According to Abu Ali, articles which have appeared in the Israeli press have been censored out of *Al Sha'ab*. Usually, the translated articles are critical of the policy of Israeli authorities towards the Palestinians in the occupied territories.

There are regular features and popular columns in the paper. The first page emphasises the most important Palestinian events, whether inside the occupied territories or outside. But when there is escalation in the situation in Lebanon, events there often grab the headlines. One page each is designated for local news, international news and sports.

Al Sha'ab has a nationalist reputation, committed to the basic Palestinian political position. It considers the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, a view which is reflected in its coverage of the news and its analytical articles.

Shortly after *Al Sha'ab* started it was targetted by the Israeli press. According to Abu Ali, the Israeli press described *Al Sha'ab* as "extreme" and said it "incites for riots and troubles." The campaign, which lasted for two years, culminated in two arsonings of the offices of the newspaper. In 1975 a grenade was thrown at Abu Ali. Miraculously he escaped unhurt. In the same year a grenade was thrown into the papers' printshop, damaging walls. "I believe," said Abu Ali, "that these attacks were planned and executed by Israelis in order to silence this national voice."

Al Sha'ab has been subjected to strict censorship. Whenever it violated the censorship orders, the paper was either closed or banned from distribution in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. In 1974 it was closed for 10 days, and in 1975 for 14 days. In 1982 it was banned from distribution in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, for allegedly violating censorship regulations. "The Israelis," explained Abu Ali, "did not give a specific reason for these measures," which he called arbitrary and unjustified.

Abu Ali believes that *Al Sha'ab* has been performing an important role "for the Palestinian people, and this newspaper has made many sacrifices in line with its national duty." He added that his paper was the first national newspaper to appear after the occupation. Abu Ali sold some of his land and a small hotel which he owned in order to cover the expenses of the printing machines and the offices. According to him, the paper will soon expand to eight pages from its present six and a new press will be purchased to improve the physical appearance of the paper, which is now printed in Linotype.

Al Fajr

Al Fajr, considered the main paper which reflects the general policy of the PLO in the occupied territories, appeared on the street April 7, 1972 as a four-pager. But in recent years the Arabic paper and the institution's various subsidiaries has become the largest journalistic complex in the occupied territories. The employees, who numbered less than 10 on the eve of the first publication, now number more than 70. The pages have doubled into a new form and format and two supplements have been added.

Al Fajr Arabic was founded by Yousef Nasr as a weekly. On the night of February 7, 1974, he was kidnapped from his house and he has never been seen since. The paper is still controlled by his family.

Nasr strongly opposed Jordanian and reactionary elements as well as the occupation in his paper. From the early stages the paper was open to people of different political directions. Successive editors have been hired to fill Nasr's chair since his kidnapping. The latest is Bishara Bahbah, a PhD in political science. But the editor-in-chief of all *Al Fajr* publications, Hanna Siniora, has been in charge overall since 1974. Regarding the short tenure of those who filled editorial positions, Siniora explained that these changes were at the request of the editorial board and later at the request of publisher Paul Ajlouny, Nasr's brother-in-law, who lives in the USA. Former staff recall that, like most staff on other papers, no one who worked in *Al Fajr* was specialised in journalism. "The ability to write is not dependent on whether the writer studied journalism," one journalist said. More important is an overall understanding of local political life and circumstances, most press workers say. There is a price for commitment: almost all full-time journalists at *Al Fajr*, for example, have been in prison or under town arrest at one time or another.

In 1974 the paper started to come out daily, with six pages, and since 1977 it has appeared in eight pages. *Al Fajr* today has five standard format pages: two for local news, one each for international news, sports and Israeli affairs. The Israeli page includes, among other things, an article translated from the Israeli press on a daily basis. Like *Al Sha'ab*, the front page is dedicated to the main Palestinian news inside and outside the occupied territories. According to Hanna Siniora, the role of *Al Fajr* is to represent and convey the opinions and aspirations of the Palestinian people to the world. "We also," he said, "have to provide our people with information about all things related to our cause."

Al Fajr has provided dozens of journalists with experience in the profession. Some have remained with the paper all their working lives while some former employees are now working for other Palestinian newspapers. But in the technical field the paper has not progressed enough, the administration admits. The antiquated machines on which the first issue was printed are still in use. But the paper, Siniora says, has become more organised. "In the past," he explained, "international, local and Arab news was mixed, but today they appear on separate pages."

A major development was made in *Al Fajr* in 1980 when literature, sports, women's and English supplements were started. In 1982 a Hebrew edition of *Al Fajr* was set up, but it closed one year later. The sports and women's supplements were halted after three issues. The literary and the English supplements continued and a year later each of them got separate licenses.

The literary supplement became a monthly magazine, edited by Palestinian author Ali Khalili. The magazine prints national and progressive literature in the occupied territories, literary critiques, poems and short stories.

News in English

English *Al Fajr* started as and still is a weekly paper, edited by Sam'an Khoury. It is the only foreign language newspaper published in the occupied territories.

English *Al Fajr* started life with eight full-size pages. In 1981 it adopted the 16 tabloid-page format it has maintained until today. Its staff of seven writers and editors and four production workers concentrate on Palestinian events inside and outside the occupied territories.

International news takes a back seat in English *Al Fajr* though articles critical of the policy of the US towards the Palestinian cause are occasionally published. Editors feel that with the availability of other publications dealing with international events and the lack of coverage of Palestinians affairs they should concentrate on local events rather than try and provide an all-around service. Like the other Palestinian papers, *Al Fajr* English translates important articles from the Hebrew press. There is also a literature page in the paper which gives regular exposure to local poets, short story writers and critics. The editor of *Al Fajr* said that there has been growing interest in the paper by foreigners, mainly in the US.

The policy of English *Al Fajr* is similar to the Arabic. "It reflects the Palestinian national line in the occupied territories," said Hanna Siniora. English *Al Fajr* tries to provide more facts and background for each subject for a foreign public less informed of Palestinian affairs.

Both Arabic and English *Al Fajr* have been closed twice in the past three years by the Israeli authorities. In 1981 they were closed for 40 days, in two different periods, under the pretext of violating censorship orders. Written warnings of alleged censorship violations are a regular feature of the life of the papers.

Al Talia

Every Thursday morning, a new issue of *Al Talia* takes its place on the few newspaper stands in the Old City of Jerusalem. The paper is banned in the rest of the West Bank; the many people who read it do so under threat of arrest.

Al Talia was founded in 1978 by the political activist Bashir Barghouthi as a 12-page tabloid. Hanna Amira, an editor at *Al Talia*, told *Al Fajr* that the start of the paper was very difficult. "There were no financial resources when the idea of the paper was first raised," he said. He explained that founders collected subscriptions from friends and supporters. "In the beginning, all work for the paper was done in one room by a staff of five. Barghouthi, who was the only member of the staff experienced in journalism, wrote most of the news and articles for the paper himself. He continues to publish a regular column of political analysis in every issue.

Al Talia is unlike other Palestinian newspapers in a number of ways. It is the only paper, for instance, which devotes a page for the Palestinian workers' affairs. Problems, workers' rights and incidents involving workers in the work place are covered. "We believe," said Hanna Amira, "that the working class should be given special attention."

Local affairs are given major attention, with three-fourths of the paper allocated for this purpose. There is a literature page and the back page is frequently devoted to articles about international revolutionary movements.

The paper also has a distinctive style of writing. Amira said that the news or the event is not 'photographed' but analysed.

Also characteristic of *Al Talia* is its extensive coverage of Gaza Strip news, often ignored by other papers. For years it has been reporting on everything relating to occupation practices and problems of refugees and camps. "We see that the Gaza Strip is as politically important as the West Bank," one of the editors said.

Due to its constant shortage of funds, *Al Talia* does not have enough journalists. But the administration has found a partial solution to this problem. Most of the paper's correspondents are volunteers, and the five-member editorial staff is forced to routinely work overtime (without pay, of course) in order to put out the paper. The ban imposed on the distribution of the paper in the West Bank since 1980 has further restricted the financial growth of the paper. An attempt to remove this ban through the intervention of the High Court failed.

Regarding the political stand of the paper on basic Palestinian issues, Amira said, "We are committed to national unity and to the Palestinian national line and our paper supports national independence

Talking about the role of the Palestinian papers, he said, "Our papers, except *Al Quds*, are different from the Western press, which plays the role of observer only. Our papers take the role of the participant."

Al Mithaq

Al Mithaq is the newest regular publication in the occupied territories. It began in 1980 as a 12-page tabloid weekly. Since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon it has become bi-weekly. The founder of *Al Mithaq* is Mahmoud Khatib, a university graduate from Jerusalem. He is the son of Ali Khatib, a former editor of *Al Sha'ab* newspaper, who was expelled by the Israeli authorities in 1975. Mahmoud Khatib had only the barest of experience in journalism from his student days in Beirut when he edited his university's economics paper.

Palestinian affairs, of course, is the major theme of the paper. The second page is devoted solely to local news. Its four regular columns are usually strongly critical either of Palestinian, Arab, Israeli or American behaviour. Translated articles or those taken from Arab or Palestinian newspapers published outside also appear regularly in *Al Mithaq*.

Unlike the other papers, since the split in Fatah began last year *Al Mithaq* has been publishing articles critical of the PLO chairman's policy. When the paper published a series of articles reflecting the stand of Abu Musa, who led the opposition, it drew interest from supporters of the opposition and earned the hatred of those who support Arafat's policy.

When asked what his response is to critics who charge that *Al Mithaq* is Libyan- or Syrian-backed, Khatib answers, "We are an independent paper. We write what is good for our people." As for the paper's support for Abu Musa he said, "It is not the matter of an individual. We supported the demands for reform and we don't care who raises them."

Like any new paper, *Al Mithaq* is struggling to improve both at the journalistic and technical levels. "We want to lift the level of writing in the paper so we can become a daily in the near future," Khatib said.

The health situation in the occupied territories is deteriorating. Said **al-Ghazali** of *Al Fajr* spoke to staff of local hospitals about the current crisis and representation of the 200-plus medics presently out of work.

West Bank Medical Services in Crisis

The West Bank's medical system no longer meets the basic health needs of the population, professionals in the field charge. They complain that along with its failure to employ modern technology, the situation has been aggravated by sky-high inflation, which has reduced the number of doctors working in private and government hospitals, medical centres and clinics.

The Jordan Medical Council's files show that the number of unemployed doctors jumped to 200 at the start of the 17th year of occupation, about 20 percent of the physicians in the occupied territories.

Dr. Salah Bustami, head of the JMC, divides the unemployed doctors into three categories: 40 unpaid doctors who were appointed as volunteers in government hospitals; 120 doctors who work in private West Bank medical centres and are paid a monthly salary of JD100 by the JMC; and 40 doctors who have no work at all and no capital to equip their own clinics. All 200 doctors finished their training in the past three years.

The West Bank's newly graduated doctors usually apply to hospitals in Ramallah, private hospitals in Jerusalem and Nablus and the JMC for work. In years past they have all found employment.

Fawaz Qadri is a volunteer doctor in the Rafidiya government hospital in Nablus. He graduated from Cairo University in 1981 and accepted work as an unpaid volunteer in April 1982. Qadri works full-time, like his paid colleagues. He and six other volunteers in Rafidiya were told they would join the paid staff after three months of training. They agreed to work to acquire medical experience, but Qadri is pessimistic about his future.

"It is tragically without hope," Qadri commented. Two months ago, the Israeli authorities made their work conditional on a signed agreement that they would not demand pay in the future.

Dr. Qadri and fellow Rafidiya volunteer Dr. Omar Sweisi applied to JMC to be accepted within their compensation programme but have not yet received an answer.

Sweisi, who studied medicine for seven years at Damascus University, works in the maternity section. He said two former Rafidiya volunteers now get the JMC's JD100 salary.

Dr. Qadri says his friends who were unable to find jobs or even acceptance as volunteers are "depressed." Dr. Bustami said that "no immediate solution is available. The doctors' union does not have a sufficient budget to solve doctors' unemployment," Bustami added.

In addition to its inability to help all unemployed doctors, the absorption programme only offers jobs for two years. This temporary aid was criticised by Dr. Suleiman Abu Leil, who has worked for 12 months in the Orthodox Charitable Handicapped Centre in Azariya. "Where should doctors go after two years?" he asked rhetorically.

Dr. Bustami says the aim of the absorption programme, started in 1981, "is only a means to help doctors establish themselves by finding appropriate jobs or pursuing their higher studies."

West Bank doctors believe that the current crisis has been caused by various direct and indirect factors — the relatively great numbers of graduates who came to the West Bank during the previous three years is one major factor. Also the expense of opening a private clinic is too much for new graduates. Other indirect factors are the absence of modern medical centres or medical technology in the 17 UNRWA, private and government hospitals and the shortage of specialists.

Doctors cite the differences found between the West Bank's nine hospitals and one Israeli hospital, Shaare Tzedek, in Jerusalem, in 1975 (see chart below).

Trainees at the Palestine Medical Company, al Bireh, face an uncertain future. The responsibility for solving the present crisis lies with the authorities/POP photo

	Shaare Tzedek	West Bank Hospitals
Beds	280	943
Patients treated	14,678	37,046
Doctors	101	76
Nurses	269	265
Employees	788	629
Budget 1977	US$10,000,000	US$6,000,000
Residents	250,000	750,000

Other contrasting studies made by JMC reveal that there are only 1.9 beds per 1000 West Bank residents compared with 6.9 beds in Israel. There are only 1311 beds in all West Bank hospitals compared with 26,754 beds in 148 Israeli hospitals, the JMC studies show.

Only 166 doctors are specialists in the West Bank and only 10 specialise in anaesthesiology and radiology. There are no specialist in pathology or oncology.

Jerusalem

Several Jerusalem medical centres have been closed or functionally paralysed since 1967. The health centre which used to offer free medical services was closed in 1974. The tuberculosis centre also was closed in 1979. The blood bank ceased to function when the number of employees was reduced from 15 to 2. The blood bank used to supply blood to all Jerusalem hospitals and some hospitals in the West Bank.

Dr. Adnan Arafeh, who has worked in the Hospice Government Hospital since 1969, told *Al Fajr* that the number of beds at the Hospice Hospital was reduced by the Israelis from 105 to 40. The hospital's nose, ear and throat section was closed in 1977 and the surgical section was also closed in 1983. Arafeh stated that Israeli authorities use many pretexts to force the eventual closure of the Hospice, such as that the hospital is old, unsuitable and small and that the owners of its premises want it back. In addition to this, Arafeh said, financial pressures were exercised on the hospital. Arafeh believes Israeli health ministry officials want to create a desperate medical situation in the West Bank to tie it with Israeli health facilities.

Medical Insurance

Before 1967 West Bankers paid only nominal fees for hospital services in government-run institutions. Today fees are competitive yet few residents have private medical insurance and even fewer participate in the Israeli Labour Federation (*Histadrut*) insurance programme for treatment in the high technology Israeli hospitals.

Salah Bustami puts responsibility for solving the present crisis on the authorities. He said the improvement and development of health services in clinics and hospitals required the doubling of the number of hospital beds, supplying hospitals with modern equipment and providing each hospital with specialist doctors and units.

"These improvements will affect the crisis of unemployment," Bustami concludes.

The 'Slave Market' of Palestinian workers is now an accepted part of the social scene in most Israeli towns. **Yaron Zelig** visited the Haifa market recently for *Al Hamishmar* to discuss the impact of the collapse of the Israeli economy.

Arab Labour on the Slave Market

Imad has arrived at the market every morning for the past four years. Sometimes there is work and sometimes there isn't. When I ask him about unemployment insurance and social benefits, he looks at me as if I'm crazy.

At 7:30 am despair filters into his voice. Slowly it dawns on him that he'll spend another day idle. Unemployed, and waiting for the bus to return him in the afternoon to his home in Jenin. Imad is not choosy, he is prepared to do any work — portering, roof-tarring, construction — just as long as it's work.

However, hopes and reality are separate. Employers haven't flooded the 'Slave Market' recently in downtown Haifa. The slowing of economic activity doesn't miss 'Paris Square,' where for many years now those who are called 'slaves' have concentrated every morning — dozens, sometimes more than 100, labourers from the (occupied) territories who look for an occasional daily wage.

6:00 am: the noise of fruit and vegetable boxes being thrown to the ground is heard from the market. A sign that the *bastas*-owners (stallholders) have started to arrange their goods on the stands. On the Carmel the majority of people are still sleeping while the first workers slowly arrive at the Carmelit ('Metro') terminal.

They find seats: some on the pavement, others on a nearby railing. Beside them are plastic bags containing their meals. Some gather around the carriage of the coffee vender, drinking hot coffee to defrost the morning cold. Talking in silence. Waiting.

* * * * *

A few minutes before 7:00 am there's a tumult on the square. A commercial van stops by the pavement. The dozens of labourers spring towards it and surround the driver in a flash. They offer him their serives, each pushing the other, shouting loudly, making price offers and urging the driver to choose them.

One is prepared to get into the van for IS1500 a day. The other hears that and immediately offers himself for IS1000 per day. The third doesn't even care to listen. He climbs straight into the back of the commercial van, his calculation being simple: while all the others are quarrelling, he is already in the car and his work day is almost secured. Now the most important thing is to get the driver away from the market. It's also possible to bargain later on. Calls like "It'll be OK. Take me. *Ya'allah*, let's go!" cut the space. Finally, when spirits calmed down a bit, the driver is also given the chance to open his mouth. It becomes clear that he doesn't need labourers at all. The fast one is taken respectfully down from the van and the hope in his face for a few minutes is again replaced by disappointment.

* * * * *

continued on page 15

Fawzi Anastas: Bethlehem's 'Classic' Sculptor

Bethlehem sculptor Fawzi Anastas, 36, is busy finishing a statue of Sultan Pasha Atrash, a Syrian Druze who led the resistance against French occupation in the 1920s. The two-by-two metre statue shows Sultan Atrash astride a horse and holding a sword. When it is finished, the statue will be erected in Mghar village in the Galilee.

Anastas has executed countless works in stone — statues, busts, pillars, bases and capitals. His work has gone to churches and mosques, institutions and individuals here, in Italy, France, India, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and the United States.

His workshop, next to his house in Bethlehem, is full of statues.

He has an album of photographs of statues — a document of 20 years of work. "I lost my finger sculpting," Anastas says pointing to a stump on one hand. 'I work for more than 15 hours per day." He is a chubby man of medium height and strongly built. His face, hair and clothes are covered with white dust from the chisel's work. He gives the impression of being a working man rather than the highly-qualified university graduate he is. Anastas moves quickly all the time as if he is leading a team of construction workers.

As the only professional sculptor in the West Bank he carries a full load of private work and teaching commitments. "I can no longer remember the exact dates I finished statues and busts. Some of them I did for commercial reasons and others are purely works of art," Anastas said, surveying the dozens of statues in his workshop.

Anastas was born in Bethlehem in 1948. The son of a sculptor, he started his working life at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem, in 1962.

In 1964, he went to Brera Milano University in Italy and studied for eight years, taking out Italian citizenship during that time. While there he opened a private workshop in the town of Petra Santa.

Anastas is described by fellow artist Suleiman Mansour as a "perfect classical stylist." This sets his work apart from the more abstract styles of his West Bank contemporaries. He is very proud of his classicism saying, "The artist must learn classicism before he can mature." He has been charged here with imitating the style of the artists of the Middle Ages, such as Francesco Messina and Michelangelo.

It was in Italy that honours started to come Anastas' way. He was elected to the 12-member European Artistic Committee. The committee, appointed by the French government, coordinates official artistic activities in Europe and commissions works there and overseas. "But the committee's activities have stagnated recently," Anastas told *Al Fajr*.

In 1972, after obtaining family reunion from the military government, he returned to his hometown and started taking commissions and working as a teacher of sculpture in schools and centres. His works are in the Holy Sepulchre and al-Aqsa Mosque. At that stage he also executed wood carvings and decoration but now he is exclusively a sculptor. As well as stone, he works in marble, bronze, wax and wood.

In coordination with the Women's Federation in Bethlehem, Anastas established an institute for fine art in 1975. The institute, in which he is the sole instructor, teaches the principles of painting and sculpting in two year courses. It has 40 graduates.

Pillars, Capitals and Bases: Anastas and his assistants executed 18 columns (above) over four months in 1983 for a church in the West Bank.

Other Major Works:

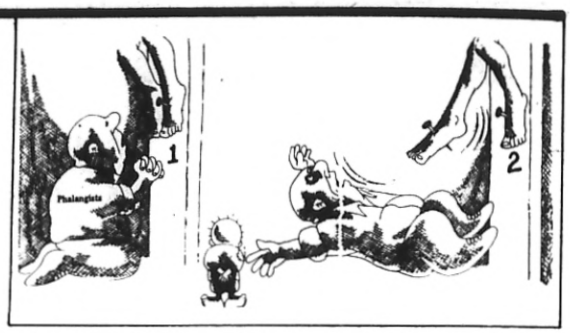
Fountain: The fountain commissioned by Bethlehem municipality is in the European style. In answer to charges that it does not blend with the architecture of the adjacent Chruch of the Nativity, Anastas says that he suggested the introduction of local mosaics but his suggestion was rejected by the municipality.

Palestinian Woman: The statue, also executed in 1973, shows a woman carrying a child. It stood near al-Bireh municipality until it was destroyed months later on orders of the Israeli military governor. Abd al-Jawad Saleh, then-mayor of al-Bireh, was expelled immediately after the destruction. The fact that he took responsibility for the statue was cited by the Israelis as one of the reasons for his ouster.

The Virgin: Anastas finished this red-stone statue (above) in 1980 after a commission from the European Artistic Committee. The Apostolic delegate here promised to send the statue to the Louvre in Paris. The artist does not know whether the statue is there or not.

Statue of Peace: The statue (left), commissioned by the European Artistic Committee, is 5.5 metres high. It represents Jesus extending his arms towards heaven and was erected in 1973 on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem. Vandals have chipped away the nose and part of the statue's chin. Anastas worked for many hours to reattach the broken pieces. *The Virgin* (above) was completed when Anastas was 16 years old.

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS



Palestinian newspapers gave most of their attention this week to events in Lebanon both on the military and diplomatic fronts.

All three local dailies reported on the expected abrogation of the May 17 US-sponsored Israeli-Lebanese agreement. The papers listed the eight-point cantonisation plan, which is now under discussion. Al Sha'ab and Al Ittihad reported in their lead stories on the joint military command between Amal and Jumblatt's Progressive Socialist Party.

On the military front, the victories of the Lebanese national forces were applauded by local Palestinian newspapers.

A statement by the Bir Zeit University Student Council, rejecting a controversial new grading system, was given prominence in Al Fajr.

Palestine - Lebanon Link

The civil war in Lebanor has been ongoing since the mid-1970s. During this time the Syrian army intervened at Lebanon's request and with the approval of the Arab League. The war reached a climax when Israel invaded Lebanon and entered Beirut. Since the war started, the entire world, including the Arab world, has been seeing the close link between the Palestinian and Lebanese issues and that the Lebanese issue cannot be resolved until after a solution is found to the Palestinian problem. This link was logical and to be expected since the dispersed Palestinian people found a new base in Lebanon.

The fact that no one can deny is that the instability in the Middle East since the 1950s was a direct result of the Israeli aggression and the tragedies it has caused to the Palestinian people.

Israel is fighting this theory and denies that it was responsible for the problems of this region. This is a natural position for Israel to take, like anyone who tries to give weak excuses tc defend himself. This position is not surprising. But what is surprising is that Israel is still able to remove the link between the Palestinian cause and the Lebanese issue.

We wonder about the future of this relationship. The world will not leave Lebanon's crisis unresolved. It will not be able to find a solution for it without finding an acceptable solution to the Palestinian cause. Therefore, we hope our case will be pushed forward, directly or indirectly.

We can understand why the US goes along with Israel. But we cannot understand why the Arab world agrees to it.

AL QUDS
February 14

Soviet Leadership

(abridged)

Communist leader Yuri Andropov, the fifth president of the first socialist country, the Soviet Union, died only 15 months after he was elected president. He had many domestic and international achievements but he died before he was able to complete what he and his predecessors had started.

The day before yesterday the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party unanimously elected, in the presence of its 300 members, Konstantin Chernenko as the new president to succeed Andropov.

While the imperialist and reactionary media were busy talking about the late president and the characteristics of the new president, we confirm here that what rules the Soviet Union is a collective leadership that abides by the programmes of the Communist Party, founded by Lenin.

The Soviet position towards our Palestinian cause was made very clear. Every one of our people knew that it stood with us and supported our claims for our right of return, self-determination and the establishment of a Palestinian state. This reached a point that our leaders are always praising the Soviet leadership and people's support and speaking words of gratitude for them as strategic allies to the Palestinian revolution.

We want to tell the Arab leaders to understand that the Soviet position towards us is based on justice rather than leave their media to question the Soviet Union's position every time one leader goes and is replaced by another.

But how can we expect that when we know that half of our troubles came from our reactionary regimes which ally themselves with the camp of the enemies?

AL MITHAQ
February 15

Rejecting the Reagan Plan

During the talks in Washington, King Hussein and Husni Mubarak promised to help Reagan push forward his plan. Of course this does not mean to push Israel because they cannot, but the Arab parties concerned. This means to pressure the PLO to accept the Reagan plan. In case this fails, alternative Palestinians will be looked for, in the occupied land in particular, in order to enforce it.

The Palestine National Council rejected the Reagan plan at its last meeting in Algiers. So when Arab officials promise to push forward a rejected plan, they are then acting in spite of and against the popular will.

This makes one wonder about the lies of these officials when they talk about honouring the independent Palestinian decision and the freedom of the PLO.

Solidarity with the PLO, in its simplest form, means to honour the decisions of its highest ranking institution, the Palestine National Council. Since supporting the Reagan plan blatantly violates these decisions, then the official Jordanian and Egyptian moves to 'coordinate and talk' with the PLO aim at forcing its officials to abandon these decisions and widen the splits in order to liquidate the PLO, bring in other Palestinians to replace the organisation and thus pass this plan.

Those who are coming to Amman to hold talks have to keep this fact in mind. They have to read once again what the US officials said about Mubarak and Hussein's promises.

The rejection of the Camp David accords and Reagan plan should be the conditions for the resumption of dialogue with any party.

AL TALIA
February 16

Arab Councils Strike

(abridged)

The Arab local governments hold a two-hour warning strike today in accordance with a decision made at the conference of the Arab heads of local councils at Shafa 'Amr last week.

The Arab councils are making two demands. First, the government should help them overcome their deficits so that they can pay the salaries of their employees and continue giving the necessary services and pay the contractors and companies. Second; government should make the budgetary allocations in a fair manner, that is, remove the difference between what they actually get and what they are promised in the budgets for development, loans and grants. This means equality between the local Arab councils and the Jewish local councils.

The people should stand behind their local councils, supportive of this battle which is in the interest of the masses and for the development of our towns and villages which are anxious tc develop.

AL ITTIHAD
February 16

Nationalist Victories

As the daily victories of the Lebanese nationalist forces continue, also increasing is the insistence that the Phalange president resign since he does not represent anyone except the Phalange Party, or maybe less than that.

The Lebanese opposition has decided that abrogating the Lebanese-Israeli agreement does not necessarily mean Gemayel and his party will be ruled innocent of the crimes they committed in the southern region of Beirut and the mountain area, and before that at Sabra and Shatila, and even in starting the civil war in 1975.

Yesterday, Nabih Berri, head of the Shi'ite 'Amal' militias, said he is willing to participate in a national dialogue at Geneva, on the condition that Gemayel be another participant, not as president, and be tried for his crimes.

We here hail the nationalists' victories. But we also warn against partitioning Lebanon into religious entities according to the dangerous American plan for this region, which it tries to implement with the help of its agents in Lebanon.

AL SHA'AB
February 17

Abrogating the May 17 Agreement

The tacit approval by US President Ronald Reagan of the abrogation by Lebanese President Amin Gemayel of the May 17 agreement Lebanon signed with Israel, under US supervision, could actually reduce tension in Lebanon. This tension has so far caused many deaths during the heavy figthing between the various Lebanese parties and factions.

The US President announced that the US is not party to the agreement and therefore it will not take a position either way regarding it.

He also announced that the US will not change its position towards the Lebanese president if he decides to revoke the agreement with Israel, yielding to the demands by Syria and the Lebanese opposition.

The following can be deduced from what the American president has said:

1. The civil war in Lebanon will have to end;

2. A downgrading of the Syrian claim which takes advantage of the Lebanese-Israeli agreement and by which Syria has inflamed the civil war by backing one party against the other. Abrogating the agreement would lead in the end to the removal of the Syrian armed presence in Lebanon;

3. If this armed presence is removed, Israel's excuse for its continuous presence in Lebanon will not be acceptable anymore, leading, as a result, to its withdrawal from there;

4. Improving the chances of a UN force replacing the multinational forces. This is a correct step and a practical one on the road toward finding a solution to the Lebanese crisis;

5. Creating a better atmosphere for the revival of a Lebanese national reconciliation conference which had its first meeting some time ago in Geneva. As a result the warring Lebanese parties can have a chance to find a permanent solution for the Lebanese crisis.

A final note: in addition to the fact that developments in Lebanon have convinced Washington of the necessity of taking a realistic stance towards Lebanon, Reagan's statement actually indicates the bankruptcy of the US policy, not only in Lebanon but in the whole region. This will force the US to change its policies and probably find a peaceful and just solution to the crises in this region.

AL FAJR
February 17

Students, Admin. Agree on BZU Regulations

by Said al-Ghazali

Bir Zeit University, with its divisions and subdivisions of students, teachers and administration, is like a small utopian society controlled by democratic, liberal and national relations, governed by the freedom of expression and united by the desire for the safe continuation of academic life.

The new campus corridors, offices and squares — which now house the old campus departments as well, after their military-ordered closure February 2 — were transformed for a few days into platforms for conferences and formal and spontaneous discussions after students struck February 13 to protest a decision by BZU Academic Council to change the grading and certification systems. Students demanded the cancellation of the recent decisions while the administration initially stuck by its authority to make academic decisions.

An agreement was finally ironed out between students and the academic council and signed Febrary 20. The students announced the end of their strike and final exams will go ahead according to an amended schedule.

A formal statement said the academic and student councils agreed on the following:

"The decision for grading and certification systems is not final and the discussion is not yet complete. Therefore, it is considered as a proposal;

"The academic council will discuss the grading and certification systems, expulsion from university, probation period, qualification for the honours list and all academic proposals which aim at raising the academic level with the participaton of student council representatives in academic council meetings, spirited by mutual understanding between them. Opinions of the faculty must be taken into consideration. The mutual understanding does not mean that any of the participants has the right of veto and it does not mean conflicts with the general constitution of the university;

"The old grading system of 1980/82 is still effective in the university. It is applicable to all students of the university until another new comlete grading system is finally endorsed and officially announced;

"Any decision being taken will not be retroactively implemented. The student council will transfer a memorandum to the academic council carrying a recommendation to the board of trustees, according to which the university consitution will be changed to include the student council as a member of the academic council;

"Based on this agreement, the student council will announce the end of the strike and all students will be asked to sit for their final exams."

Problems had started when, after a series of sessions dating from September 1983, the BZU academic council, the high legislative body, endorsed a new minimum average for graduation of 70 percent — 10 points above the old grade. The decision, made January 25 and released February 14, included two scales, one for certificates and the other for grades. Students immediately rejected the new scales and, fearing they would be retroactive, called the strike.

The new scales are complex, adding to the confusion in the debate. (see box).

Students expressed suspicion because, according to a BZU statement of February 14, the academic council meeting three days earlier decided that the new grading scale would be retroactive, effecting students who joined BZU in the 1983-84 scholastic year. Students who joined last autumn and will graduate in 1986/87 in the sciences, arts and commerce colleges and in 1987/88 in engineering were included, according to this statement.

Two days before the agreement Dr. Abd al-Latif Barghouthi, the university deputy chairperson for academic affairs, told *Al Fajr* that the decision concerning the grading and certificate scales has not had final endorsement. He said that according to regulations, it must receive a second reading by members of the academic council and be distributed to all bodies of the university concerned before final implementation.

Barghouthi added that academic council resolutions cannot be implemented for a year even after final endorsement and that current students are still graded according to the old constitution.

The disputed grading scales, students said, will force them to spend all their time studying and it will restrict the students' movement. BZU student spokespeople argued that conditions of education in the occupied territories are abnormal and cannot be compared to universities outside, which they say are being used as the basis of grade comparision. They said the academic level in the university is related to the standard of the courses and the political environment in the occupied territories. What hinders academic performance, the students charge, are Israeli attempts to force military order 854 on academic institutions, the number of students and teachers under closures and the problems which occur when foreign staff have to fight political work permit applications. Bir Zeit University was closed for a total of 12 months, three weeks and four days since it began as a four-year university in 1973, according to the administration.

BZU students were also demanding that the student council have a member on the academic council and that the student council must participate in and endorse any decision affecting students.

Khaled Abu Sada, public relations chairperson for the student council, told *Al Fajr* that the council sent three memoranda to the academic council outlining the reason for its rejection of the new changes in regulations. Abu Sada said that the students must have a basic role in academic decisions.

In their memoranda they point to the absence of admission standards and conditions in the new guide. "That means," the statement said, "the admissions will be based on individual administrative criteria."

The students also complain that as the new proposals now stand, part-time students will not be graduated unless they spend the last three semesters as full-time students in the university. Those who work in local institutes and schools who were exempted in the past are not now excluded.

Proposed scale for Awarding Certificates

90-100	high distinction
85-89	distinction
80-84	very good
75-79	good
70-74	satisfactory

The Present Scale

90-100	high distinction
85-89	distinction
78-84	very good
70-77	good
60-69	satisfactory

Proposed Grading Scale

90-100	distinction
85-89	very good
80-84	good
75-79	average
70-74	satisfactory
60-69	weak
less than 60	fail

The Old Grading Scale

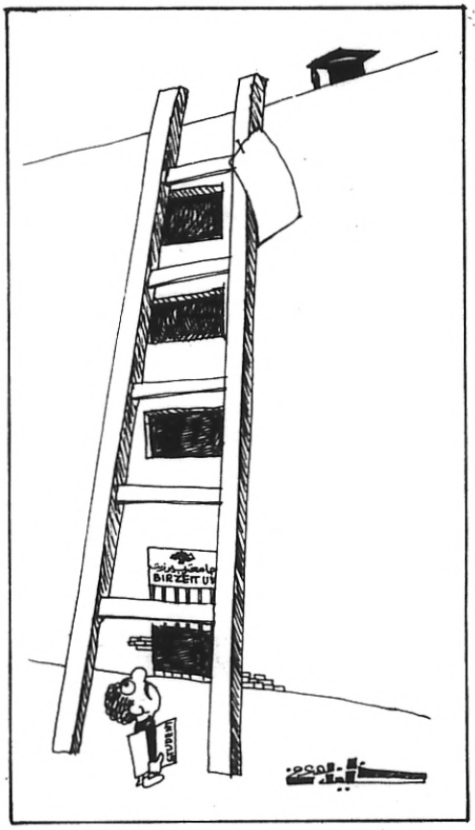
90-100	distinction
80-89	good
70-79	average
60-69	pass
less than 60	fail

Not Sitting For Final Exams

After the first exam at 8:30 am February 13 the student council called for an emergency student meeting to discuss the new regulations and decided to boycott the rest of the examinations. Later the same day the student council formed an order committee whose student members stood at the front door of exam halls and prevented some students from attending.

Students gave two reasons for declaring an immediate strike in a statement: "Our own evaluation of the administration's choice of this particular time — after the closure of the old campus and during exams — is to attempt to pass the grade scale. The second reason is that we have not yet received a reply to our memoranda." They said, "We discussed this issue in student meetings but the administration paid no attention to them."

Since the strike started students, teachers and employees have continued going to the new campus every day for meetings and a series of contradictory statements have been issued.



On February 14 the administration called on the student council to attend a meeting of the academic council scheduled for the next day and agreed to give them copies of academic council resolutions. They called on students to resume examinations and regular activities. The next day the academic council announced that the 1980-1982 grading scale will remain in effect until the new one is endorsed. In their statements students insisted that the university cancel the new grading scale.

Abd al-Latif Barghouthi said the new regulations would raise the academic level of students and facilitate a more effective academic process. Student statements reiterate that the grade scale is not a criteria for the academic level and there is a necessity to understand the reasons for the low academic level which endanger the entire academic programme.

In a meeting convened February 18 the academic council and the follow-up committee of university faculty discussed the problem and proposed the compromise that formed the basis of the final solution. The student council, the academic council, the Council of Higher Education and Bir Zeit faculty members held separate and joint meetings to discuss a formula to end the crisis, until the final compromise was reached.

Commenting on the atmosphere on the campus during the debates, Abd al-Latif Barghouthi said that "democracy needs time." He predicted that the crisis will be solved within two days and the students will be given two days grace before sitting again for final examinations.

Ilham Abu Ghazaleh of the English department told *Al Fajr* that she would have preferred that students disccused issues with the academic council before striking. However, she said, people in the university have the right to strike. Abu Ghazaleh said she supports the idea of a student council member on the academic council.

Barghouthi said, "It is part of the university board of trustee's authority to appoint new members in the academic council which presently consists of deans of the university, the deputy chairperson for academic affairs, the deputy chairperson for planning and development and two faculty members elected by each college. The faculty member must be a lecturer who has worked at the university for two years or more.

Barghouthi said there is coordination between the university and the students through the various college councils on which two students sit. Some colleges have submitted objections to the academic council concerning the grading scale, according to administration sources.

WEEKLY REVIEW

February 13, 1984

PRISON CONDITIONS WORSENING

JERUSALEM — Information leaked from Fara'a interrogation centre and published in *Al Ittihad* reports worsening conditions. According to the report, a special team has been created to interrogate detainees. The prisoners were also denied access to the exercise yard all last week.

Prisoners at Fara'a increased by 70 earlier this month, 30 of whom were *tawjihi* (matriculation exam) students arrested for two days so they would miss, and therefore fail, the exam.

LAWYER PROTESTS ILLEGAL ACTION

NAZARETH — Lawyer Walid Fahoum protested February 14 to the military court in Jenin against attempts by the Israeli military to keep him from seeing his client Sari Hussein.

Hussein was arrested January 1 and held for one month without seeing a lawyer. The law allows the lawyer to see his client after 18 days in detention. When Fahoum tried to see Hussein in Jenin, he was informed that Hussein had been transferred to Ramallah prison. The military court in Jenin must free Hussein on bail, Fahoum said.

Conditions at Fara'a prison have worsened since this rare photo was taken of prisoners sleeping on floor mats.

YOUTHS TO BE MONITORED

JENIN — The Israeli military headquarters in Jenin ordered the heads of area villages to inform them of any activity planned by the Youth Committees for Social Work and the Volunteer Work Committees.

SOCIAL WORKER DISMISSED

NABLUS — The Israeli officer in charge of social affairs in the West Bank dismissed social worker Ghassan Mohammed Shamlawi, from the Nablus social affairs department. Shamlawi's contract was renewed 11 days prior to the dismissal order. No reason was given.

February 14, 1984

BALATA YOUTHS SENTENCED

NABLUS — Four Balata camp youths were jailed on charges of throwing rocks and demonstrating. Yahya Da'aous, Ali Fayoumi, Miqdad Khatib and Salah Mansour were given three months each and fined IS100,000.

GAZANS TRIPS TO EGYPT DOWN

The number of Gaza residents travelling to Egypt through the crossing point at Rafah dropped by 20 percent last year. More than 100 people crossed the borders illegally into Israel but were arrested and returned to Egypt. About 20 persons crossed the borders illegally into Egypt, Israeli reports say.

OFFICER SENTENCED FOR BEATING ARABS

TEL AVIV — A military court sentenced an Israeli officer to a six-month suspended jail sentence and fined him IS15,000 after he was found guilty of beating two lecturers in a West Bank university during their detention at Nablus jail. Another officer was acquitted for lack of evidence.

February 15, 1984

ELECTIONS OR REINSTATEMENT

HEBRON — The elected municipal council of Dura filed suit in the Israeli High Court asking it to order Israel's defence minister, the head of the 'civil administration' and the military commander of the region to explain why they will not allow elections to be held or the council to be reinstated as it should be under Jordanian law.

MASSIVE TAXES

TULKARM — A Tulkarm lawyer was ordered to pay IS500,000 in value added tax and a local pharmacist got a tax bill for IS232,000. Both keep books of their sales.

AL-AQSA PROTESTOR JAILED

HEBRON — The military court sentenced Radi Jubran, from Sa'ir, to eight months in jail and fined him IS40,000 for joining a demonstration after the attack on al-Asqa Mosque in April 1982.

ISRAELI MERCENARIES IN LATIN AMERICA

TEL AVIV — *Davar* quoted a senior Israeli officer as saying there are a number of high-ranking Israeli officers working as mercenaries in Central America. The officer said these mercenaries work as guards to the rulers and make US$6-10,000 a month:

The paper said the officer it quoted had himself just returned home from mercenary work in Latin America.

JAN. INFLATION 14.9%

TEL AVIV — The cost of living index registered a 14.9 percent increase last month.

MAYORS DENY PETITION

JERUSALEM — Elected mayors of Nablus and Tulkarm, Bassam Shaka'a and Hilmi Hanoun, denied signing a statement welcoming the return of parliamentary life to Jordan and the nomination of a Nablus resident as member to this parliament.

The mayors said they knew nothing about the statement and that their signatures were probably forged. The statement was seen in Amman carrying the seal of Tubas town council and the signatures of Shaka'a, Hanoun and Jenin Mayor Shawki Mahmoud.

WAR COST

Chairperson of the Knesset Economic Committee Jad Yacovi said that the war in Lebanon has cost Israel US$3 billion so far.

February 16, 1984

AM'ARI YOUTHS JAILED

RAMALLAH — The military court sentenced Khalil Juma'a A'itawi and Samir Baraghathi to four-and-a-half year jail terms on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation. Jamil Kifaiya and Ghalib Ahmad al-Biss also were given two-year terms with two suspended and Khalil Rizq was give 15 months plus nine months suspended sentence on the same charges. All five are from Am'ari refugee camp.

SAKHNIN YOUTH JAILED

HAIFA — Sakhnin youth Ali Zbeidat was jailed for one year and fined IS100,000 after he was convicted of setting fire to a car and stoning Israeli soldiers during a Land Day (March 30) demonstration last year.

Zbeidat was arrested last November and sentenced then to 45 days jail on charges of demonstrating on the anniversary of the massacres of Sabra and Shatila. He is under town arrest.

ISRAELI PLAN FOR HEBRON

HaAretz newspaper reported the Israeli 'civil administration' is planning, through the Israeli officer in charge of Hebron's municipality, to grab land to build a new bus station.

The paper said the old bus station will then be taken for settlement purposes. Half of the land of the old bus station is owned by the municipality and the other half by the Muslim *waqf*.

BALATA YOUTH JAILED

NABLUS — The military court in Nablus sentenced Mohammad Ja'ara, from Balata refugee camp, to 18 months jail with two years suspended on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation.

MORE SENTENCES

A military court in Hebron jailed and heavily fined 10 local students for stone-throwing. Each student was sentenced to eight months jail with three years suspended and fined IS40,000.

UNRWA RAISES TEACHERS' SALARIES

TULKARM — UNRWA announced a rise in salary for its teachers of between JD4-8 and increases in other allowances.

PLAN TO SUPPORT SETTLERS

TEL AVIV — The Israeli ministry of agriculture will soon present to the government a plan to encourage settlement in the occupied territories on personal initiative rather than through the government, according to Israeli reports.

February 17, 1984

EGYPT'S CLAIM TO GAZA

GAZA — Reports in Gaza say Egypt will summon former members of the Legislative Council to discuss 'peace plans.' The Legislative Council was the highest Egyptian-supervised authority before the 1967 war.

The reports say Egypt may claim to represent the people of the Gaza Strip.

WOMEN RALLY

WEST BANK — West Bank women's associations held a rally to support Palestinian women prisoners at Neve Tertza jail. Several women spoke at the rally on the conditions in Israeli jails.

A five-point resolution was agreed on by the attendees demanding an end to measures against the prisoners, cancelling punishments, allowing medical teams to visit and treatment of prisoners as prisoners of war. The women have been on strike for eight months to protest cooking for their guards.

COMPREHENSIVE EXAMS STILL CAUSE TROUBLE

RAMALLAH — Students of two-year colleges and institutes in the West Bank have called for an open-ended hunger strike and a sit-in at each of their colleges to protest continued attempts to enforce the Jordanian comprehensive exams.

The students urged nationalist institutions in the West Bank and the PLO to pressure Jordan to change its regulations.

HEBRON U. STUDENTS PLEA FOR AID

WEST BANK — Students of English at Hebron University urged the administration to find teachers for the English department so that studies will return to normal after a three-month break. The students have refused to take classes under foreign teachers who signed an Israeli work permit form which includes political clauses.

TOWN ARREST ORDER LIFTED

JERUSALEM — A town arrest order on Amal Wahdan, from Abu Dis, a member of the Women's Work Committee, was lifted. The decision was made after Wahdan's lawyer, Lea Tsemel, appealed the order to the military appeals committee.

The town arrest order, effective for six months since December 26 of last year, had prevented Wahdan, who is eight months pregnant, from seeing her doctor.

NO HOSPITAL PERMIT

HEBRON — Official sources said the Israeli military refused to grant permission to the Friends of the Patient Society in Hebron to build a hospital there.

Hebron, with a population of 200,000, is being served by only one hospital, Princess Alia Hospital. A third floor, in addition to other improvements, are expected to be introduced to the hospital.

The Friends of the Patient Society has already bought a 20-dunum piece of land and prepared plans for the proposed hospital.

PHALANGE EMBASSY IN JERUSALEM

JERUSALEM — The Lebanese Phalange Party asked the Israeli government to give diplomatic status to a mission they plan to establish in Jerusalem. The party already has temporary offices at the Jerusalem Hilton Hotel.

February 18, 1984

WAR ATMOSPHERE IN GALILEE

Press reports said a war atmosphere prevails in settlements in upper and western Galilee and in the Golan Heights.

The reports said air raid

shelters are being rebuilt, women's emergency units are being recreated and civil defence forces of men and women up to age 55 are being mobilised in anticipation of serious developments.

POET EULOGISED

NABLUS — Palestinian poet Mu'in Bseiso, who died recently in London, was eulogised at Najah University in Nablus. The ceremonies were sponsored by the university's student council as part of its cultural activities on campus. Several Palestinian literary scholars participated in the ceremonies, which were attended by a large crowd of students.

TWO CARS BURNT

TULKARM — Unknown arsonists torched a car in Tulkarm camp. Several suspects were arrested. This is the second such incident in two days. A car was earlier burned in nearby Dhanaba.

February 19, 1984

BOMB IN GAZA

GAZA — A bomb was thrown at an Israeli army vehicle in Palestine Square, Gaza. Several people were immediately rounded up and identity cards of owners of seven stores in the area of the attack were collected. No report on damage was given.

TERROR WAVE CONTINUES

JAFFA — One and a half kilograms of explosives were discovered in Tasso Islamic cemetery in Jaffa. Police were summoned to the area and removed them. The Israeli extremist 'Terror Against Terror' organisation is suspected of being behind the attempted attack.

HEBRON STUDENTS CLEAR POSITION

HEBRON — Students at Hebron University denied a statement by Nabil Ja'abari, the public relations director, on Israel Radio last week that an agreement was reached between the administration and the students to reopen the university. They said they had nothing to do with the decision to reopen the university.

CALENDAR SELLERS ARRESTED

JERUSALEM — Two Jerusalem residents were arrested and charged with incitement for selling calendars in Jericho in aid of the Young Men's Muslim Association. Both were later released on bail.

TAX LAWYERS

JENIN — The Israeli military ordered Jenin lawyers Zuheir Jarrar and Ullam Abbadi to pay IS350,000 and IS650,000 respectively in additional taxes.

NO WATER

JERUSALEM — Residents of Khalil Sakakini neighbourhod in Beit Hanina, a Jerusalem suburb, are complaining that they have had no drinking water for four days.

SHAKA'A SEEKS PERMISSION TO TRAVEL

JERUSALEM — Lawyer Felicia Langer applied to the West Bank military government on behalf of elected Nablus Mayor Bassam Shaka'a seeking permission for him to travel to the US for medical reasons.

Langer said in the application that Shaka'a wants to travel to the US at the invitation of the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee and for physical check-ups.

Short

PALESTINIAN–ISRAELI DEBATE IN HAIFA

HAIFA — A Palestinian-Israeli debate was held February 11 in Haifa to discuss a joint strategy in the progressive Palestinian-Israeli struggle against the present political situation in the region. Participants expressed the belief that Israeli public opinion is shifting towards more understanding of the consequences of Israeli policies on the economy of the state.

Participants included the Nazareth lawyer Aziz Shehadeh, Mansour Kardoush, member of the Nazareth Progressive Movement, and other representatives from the Galilee. Reserve General Matityahu Peled and Yacov Arnon, former director general of the finance ministry, spoke for the Israeli side.

continued from page 16

Hunters

Following those disclosures and other exceptional deeds, regulations for the activity of students were determined within civil guard regulations: they would not be used to check 'people of the minority' or in actions against criminals, and their activities will not extend past 12:30 am. Also there should be safe transportation home for the girls finishing their service at night.

In spite of difficulties over the years matters were managed in an orderly way. However, Ben Zion Shoham, deputy director of the gymnasium, says that this year there was deterioration in cooperation and more than once students wasted their time; for instance, girls couldn't go on patrol because there were no boys. The patrols against Arabs continue; there are several deficiencies in weapons training, there are students who have not yet been to a firing range. Students are on duty in the wee hours of the morning in violation of the conditions that were determined in the 1979 regulations. And now came the revelation of the 'uneducational' affairs.

The Herzliya Gymnasium management decided last Friday not to force the 200 eleventh-graders to volunteer for the civil guard and to go on to other activities. This step was sadly received, but with understanding, by the civil guard sources. They say that in general the experience of the civil guards in the country is positive, but they admit that in Tel Aviv there were problems this year which caused the present difficulties. Following the disclosure of the affair, the attempt to put two adults on every student patrol will be strengthened. The driver will stay in the vehicle and the other adult with go out with the youths on duty.

The romance between the civil guard and the Herzliya Gymnasium has come to and end. Head Carmi Yogev says that in his estimation at the end of the year the school will disassociate itself from the civil guard altogether. "It's a pity for us that an activity meant to contribute to the community ends in such a manner. However, the situation cannot continue this way. We shall have to find other activities, like work with old people or in hospitals, in which the chance is slight that our students will find themselves in inconvenient situations, as they found themselves in in the civil guard."

continued from page 10

Slave Market

Imad has not worked even one day this week. A week earlier he worked three days. He says that on average he works about 15 days every month. He stopped his studies at the age of 12; since the age of 15, four years now, he has been every morning at Paris Square. The fact that for most of this period he was a minor doesn't mean anything. Anyway, no one who comes to the slave market has a work permit. Why does he come consistently? "There is not enough work in Jenin," says Imad, "and the wages are half what I get here in hand." The catch is hidden in the expression "to get in hand."

Imad says that often the sum he "gets in hand" is above the daily wage of an organised labourer. However, when I ask him about social privileges, about steady work or about unemployment insurance, he looks at me as if I'm mad. Here, in the market, such concepts are unknown. The simplest rules of supply and demand are dominant here. Today there is work. Work well — you'll get money. Tomorrow they already don't know you. You must start from the beginning again. So it is.

* * * * *

Also when you "work well" your wage is not always secure. Imad says that a month ago he worked with three friends for a contractor. It was agreed that the group would work three days and would get IS10,000. When they finished, the employer paid them by check. The check bounced and the four went to the contractor's house to demand their wage. The latter's response was simple: he called the police. Another labourer buts in and says that some time ago he worked near the Technion with a contractor. A wage of IS1000 was agreed. At the end of the day the contractor said he had no money. "Did you go to the police to complain?" I asked. "What for?" he responds. "Anyway, this doesn't concern them."

* * * * *

The slave market of today is not what it once was. In the past, they examined the goods and felt the muscles. Today, says Ya'acov Habibi, who believes in psychology: "I know whom to take, simply by looking. I'm a great psychologist." In the meantime he looks for a labourer for one or two hours work on his land. He "is prepared to pay even IS150 per hour and also to give breakfast." Habibi is also not satisfied with the state of affairs in the market: "Look, look," he pulls my arm. "Look how do they fall about. They don't have any order. There must be order here. They should stand like in a queue for a taxi." Finally, after a deep in psychological consideration he chooses one of the labourers and the two leave the market.

* * * * *

'Slave Market?' — asks Shimon Gordotzki with wonder. "I call the place the 'privileged market'." Gordotzki is the Employment Bureau expert. He claims that it is for labourers who wish to exploit the employer who is in urgent need of working hands. "They wish to earn in half an hour double what an organised worker gets," he claims.

"They complain about so-called exploitation but they prefer high payment and in cash. Social privileges don't bother them so much."

"And what about the contractors?" I asked.

"The employers," says Gordotzki, "wish to enjoy disorder and to save all the expense involved with social benefits they are obliged to pay an organised worker. This is a kind of a collusion in which both sides take risks."

The law is most simple. The employer is forbidden to employ a labourer without a docket from the Employment Bureau. However, reality is different because the Employment Bureau doesn't have the means to impose the law. From time to time there are incursions. Fines are imposed, but they are not efficient.

It is hard for Gordotzki to confess that the subject is the exploitation of (occupied) territories labourers. Finally he admits it partly, that also when the employer pays a little more to the Arab labourer than to the organised laborer the main profitteer is the contractor. For the labourer it becomes clears the profit ends in loss.

* * * * *

The solution? Gordotzki has a simple solution: Imad should go back to Jenin and demand work there. To tell the truth, the idea revolted me at first because who would do the work that first class citizens within the 'green line' boundaries don't think of? This week I calmed down a bit. According to publications, Thais and Philippinos are *en route*. (Translation: Al Hamishmar, February 10, 1984).

Periodically the Israeli liberal establishment is shocked by new revelations of brutality against Palestinian Arabs. Haim Handworker of *HaAretz* recently reported on the latest 'scandal' which erupted when Israeli schoolchildren, sent to the civil guard for educational purposes, found themselves witnessing and participating in the regular maltreatment of Palestinians.

The Arab-Hunters

About 10 days ago Sarah Rahamim, commandant of the 'Mughrabi' civil guard base in Tel Aviv, was called to meet with civilian guard commandant superintendent Shaul Giv'oli. She was convinced she was going to be promoted because her superiors and the volunteers had told her more than once to her face that they appreciated her work.

After a short time her face held despair. It was clear to her that students from the Herzliya Gymnasium (High School) who serve voluntarily in the base she commands claimed that other volunteers in the base used to beat Arabs. They claimed that Sarah Rahamim knew about this and sometimes even encouraged them. The base commandant claimed that the students were falsely libelling her. When she heard there was a decision to investigate the affair, she preferred to resign.

Both in the civil guard and in the Herzliya Gymnasium (whose students did not participate in these actions), there was shock over the disclosures. The gymnasium has insisted for a few years that its eleventh-graders volunteer for the civil guard, in the framework of educational activity on behalf of others. The disclosures shed unexpected light on this form of educational activity. "I have no doubt about the truthfulness of my students' words," says Carmi Yogev, Herzliya Gymnasium head, said. "These are highly reliable, responsible and well-educated students."

The students' testimonies are solid. They spoke separately, in the presence of the deputy head of the gymnasium, Ben-Zion Shoham.

"All of us had weapons, although we were not trained to shoot..."

Ruth — an eleventh-grader — (the names are changed at the request of the interviewed students) said: "I started to serve in the civil guard about four months ago. I heard from the company in the base — and I wish to emphasise that none of our students are among them — that it is okay to go on patrol and hit Arabs. One day I saw this with my own eyes. We were three students from the gymnasium with four more young volunteers who are not studying or who are close to call-up. We patrolled in the central bus station area. Suddenly we saw three Arabs in front of us. One of the volunteers asked them what they were doing there and where they worked. Afterwards he told them to enter the stairwell of a nearby house and to wait there. The base commandant, Sarah, the driver of our vehicle, drove a short distance away onto the pavement.

"I told Sarah that I had heard that there are beatings and I wanted to know what happens. Sarah told me: 'Go. When my daughter sees this, she laughs hard.' I got out of the patrol car and went to the house. The three Arabs had their faces to the wall with their hands up. One of the volunteers, a soldier who works in the Kirya (government quarter) and volunteers for the civil guard in the evening, asked one of the Arabs: 'Where do you live?' The Arab answered and he shouted at him: 'You're lying!' and hit him.

"Another question and another shout: 'You're lying!' and blows. This was the first time I saw such things. Maybe I'm a naive child. I returned to the car and said to Sarah: 'If they do this maybe it's better that I don't come to the civil guard.'

"Some time later I again joined a patrol. This time the volunteers were youths from a certain municipal high school in Tel Aviv. They were small, but big bastards. One of them was the 'leader.' He spoke rudely and never stopped giving orders. We went out and on the road in the central bus station area we saw an Arab running. We didn't know whether he ran because of us or because of the rain. All of us got out of the patrol car and stopped him. All of us had weapons, although we were not trained to shoot, and this is forbidden. I remained in the patrol car with Sarah. Four young volunteers went off with an adult volunteer. Sarah told me they had promised not to beat anymore. Time passed and they didn't come back. Sarah sent me to get them.

"I went to the entrance of the house. There were the volunteers and the Arab. The 'leader'-student had the Arab's ID in his hand. In front of him stood the Arab with his hands raised and behind him another volunteer with his gun cocked and the clip in (the gun-holder hadn't passed weapons training; it is forbidden to put in the clip this way. And after all, why cock the gun to him?) I heard the 'leader'-student saying to the Arab: 'If I see you again, it will be your end!' And he gave him a few punches.

"We returned to the patrol car that was standing 50 metres away. I told Sarah in front of everyone, 'You see, they did beat the Arab.' Sarah asked, 'What, people, did you really beat him?' The 'leader' replied, 'Of course we beat. And we also let him feel the iron (meaning the gun).'

"In the third case there was no beating. We were on patrol on the promenade when an Arab appeared and some volunteers wanted to beat him. But others warned them that it was dangerous because there were many policemen and detectives about and it wouldn't be convenient.

"There is an atmosphere to the beatings. They tell everybody about the experience. One broke the teeth of an Arab, another forced an Arab to crawl. One boasted that he broke two teeth of an Arab. In the beginning I enjoyed the civil guard. But beatings are not for me. Also I don't like anyone who lifts a hand against a fellow student who didn't want to beat."

Gadi, another volunteer in the same base, says: "When I started to serve in the civil guard four months ago I was not trained at all. I went on a total of four motorised patrols. The company in the base prepared me (by saying) that there is a need to beat Arabs because the Arabs rape girls and constitute a criminal disturbance. When you beat them, they go away. When we were in an area where there are no Arabs, what is called a 'clean area,' the volunteers explained that it is clean because they were beaten up and so went away. It is not pleasant to be on a night patrol. The volunteers smoke in the van, tease each other. Also the length of the patrols is often too long: once I began at 11:00 pm and ended at 5:00 am."

Gadi participated in the patrol that Ruth spoke about in the central bus station area. "After the volunteers told the Arabs to enter into a dark entrance of a building the commandant of the base, who was driving the car, said that we should go a bit further with the car so that if a police patrol or detectives passed they wouldn't connect us with the beatings. She also told the volunteers who were doing the beating to give dry blows so no sign would remain. She knew they were going to beat them up: the volunteers said they were going to 'mow' them. When they returned to the patrol van they boasted of the experiences: what blow one gave, what the other did, and so on. She didn't say a word. In two cases she moved the car so the policemen would not see her. And what were the blows — one punched an Arab with both hands. Another volunteer kicked them with spiked military boots.

"A friend of mine told me that he was with another volunteer on foot patrol and checked an Arab boy of 17. During this process a civil guard patrol van came by. Those sitting in the van asked the volunteers: 'Why do you speak to them so nicely? Leave them for us.' My friend and the other volunteer left and when they returned they found the Arab crying. Once I went on patrol with one of the people who beat. I tried to understand why he does this. He didn't explain but said he was going to die if he didn't find an Arab to beat up."

* * * * *

Are the beatings a phenomenon of only one base? It becomes clear it is not. A Herzliya Gymnasium student who is a volunteer in a south Tel Aviv base, says: "In the base there is much talk about beating Arabs. They ask for the ID of an Arab and give him one: a punch on the head, a jab in the stomach, a kick in the legs. But besides the talk there were also cases when I saw with my own eyes how they had beaten. We went on patrol and saw two Arabs. All of us jumped out of the patrol van. One of them escaped and we caught the other. We put him in the rear of the van and he got 'mow' hits from all of us and he cried. I told the company: 'Enough. How much do you want to mow?' One of them, who is quite moderate in these matters, pushed me aside.

"The adult driver sat at the wheel. He knew Arabic and translated the questions and answers but didn't stop them hitting the Arab.

"Beatings usually take place on motorised patrols. Such a patrol is a pleasure. It's fun to travel in the van. There is good company and the hours pass quickly. When Arabs are checked sometimes the attitude towards them is degrading; they are laughed at.

"Another time on a street in the south of Tel Aviv the company, most of them vocational school students or unemployed, caught an Arab on a dark street, put him into a stairwell, made him stand with his face to the wall with raised hands and 'lifted him' with blows from all directions. The youth started to shout for them to leave him alone.

"Altogether I was four times on a motorised patrol and I saw cases of Arabs being cruelly treated. The truth is that these patrols are not serious. They sit in the car, make jokes, there is no seriousness and guns are thrown around. They travel around and look for homosexuals and fight over 'where I should sit and where you should sit.' This is the atmosphere for the beatings. After I saw these things I decided to leave the civil guard. There is a limit to everything and I have no appetite for hitting people without reason — even if they are Arabs. Aside from this, after the matter was publicised I didn't want to be entangled and I didn't want them to do to me what they do to the Arabs. I'm afraid."

During the questioning of the Herzliya Gymnasium students another student said that he didn't see the beatings but heard the company boasting about doing it. He refused to go on such actions and was called 'salami' in retaliation. One of the volunteers explained to him why Arabs should be beaten: "They are plagues and maniacs." Another one boasted that he hit an Arab and forced him to go about on all fours.

The Herzliya Gymnasium students who felt uncomfortable about what's being done started to 'leak' details for their teachers. At the annual conference of the civil guard and the students that took place some weeks ago one of the students got up and complained about

"In the base there is much talk about beating Arabs. They ask for the ID of an Arab and give him one: a punch on the head, a jab in the stomach, a kick in the legs."

the phenomenon. The civil guard officers attending expressed shock and disbelief. An investigation of the matter was begun. Shaul Giv'oli, chief civil guard commandant, and Deputy Superintendent Ya'acov Banay, Tel Aviv civil guard commandant, came into the picture.

The base commandant, Sarah Rahamim, didn't want to talk to journalists on the subject. Within the civil guards there are people who say that it's impossible that she encouraged these deeds — but it might be that she was not strong enough to stop them or to report them — and this is also a damning fact.

With her resignation, activity at the base was stopped and senior officers started to reorganise it. Following the publicity the police also decided to start an investigation into the affair. The task was given to the public complaints officer in national headquarters.

* * * * *

It seems that following the affair, the Herzliya Gymnasium will disassociate itself from the civil guard. The gymnasium made its eleventh-graders volunteer for the civil guard for educational purposes after encouragement from the organisation. Not every school acts the same way.

In 1979 a student of the gymnasium had revealed an incident of beating of Arabs by civil guard volunteers.

continued on page 15